

THE 1980 FLORIDA LEGISLATIVE SYSTEM  
AND THE PASSAGE OF AN  
OMNIBUS POSTSECONDARY EDUCATION BILL

By

Mary Lynn Lyle

A DISSERTATION PRESENTED TO THE GRADUATE  
COUNCIL OF THE UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA  
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS  
FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA  
1981

Copyright © 1981

by

Mary Lynn Lyle

TO THOSE IN MY FAMILY WHO ARE ALWAYS THERE WHEN I NEED  
THEM--MY LATE FATHER, MARY, AND GAIL.

#### ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Those public officials and legislative, executive, and agency staff interviewed were most generous with their time, information, and assistance. Members of the doctoral committee, Dr. Ralph Kimbrough, Dr. James Wattenbarger, Dr. Art Lewis, and Chairperson Dr. Phillip Clark, were most helpful.

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS . . . . .	iv
LIST OF TABLES. . . . .	viii
ABSTRACT. . . . .	ix
CHAPTER	
I INTRODUCTION AND DESIGN OF THE STUDY. . . .	1
Statement of the Problem. . . . .	8
Limitations . . . . .	9
Assumptions . . . . .	10
Procedures. . . . .	11
II REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE. . . . .	15
Theories of the Political Process . . . .	15
Literature Related to Environmental Inputs--Circumstantial Conditions and Demand Articulators . . . . .	31
Literature Related to Conversion Processes . . . . .	36
Literature Related to Output and Feedback. . . . .	39
An Overview of the Literature on the Politics of Higher Education. . . .	40
III THE FORMAL ORGANIZATION OF FLORIDA GOVERNMENT AND PUBLIC POSTSECONDARY EDUCATION . . . . .	44
An Overview of the Branches of Government. . . . .	44
The Legislative Branch. . . . .	45
The Judicial Branch . . . . .	53
The Executive Branch. . . . .	54
The Structure of Postsecondary Education . . . . .	56

IV	A CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS AND OTHER INFORMATION PERTINENT TO THE OMNIBUS BILL . . . . .	59
	Summary of House Bill 7-D . . . . .	59
	A Chronology of Events . . . . .	69
	Summary of Joint Commission Recommendations . . . . .	80
	The Governor's 1980 Legislative Program on Education . . . . .	87
	Summaries of Other Bills for Which House Bill 7-D Became a Substitute . . .	89
	Summaries of Bills Related to House Bill 7-D . . . . .	104
	Summary of the Governor's Veto Message . . . . .	106
V	REPORT AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS: THE INFORMAL WORKINGS OF THE FLORIDA LEGISLATIVE SYSTEM DURING THE PASSAGE OF AN OMNIBUS POSTSECONDARY EDUCATION BILL. . . . .	111
	The Purpose and Design of the Study . . .	112
	Report and Discussion of Findings Related to the Major Issues of House Bill 7-D and Their Relative Importance . . . . .	116
	Report and Discussion of Findings Related to Individuals Influential in the Legislative Process Resulting in House Bill 7-D . . . . .	120
	Report and Discussion of Findings Related to Groups Influential in the Legislative Process . . . . .	125
	Report and Discussion of Findings Related to Environmental Conditions Impacting the Legislature . . . . .	127
	Report and Discussion of Findings Related to the Informal Legislative Process . . . . .	130
	Report and Discussion of Findings Related to Feedback Resulting from the passage of House Bill 7-D . . . . .	156

VI	DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS. . . . .	159
	Iannaccone's Proposition on State Structures Linking Education Groups with the Legislature . . . . .	160
	Rost's Proposition on the Complete Politization of Higher Education. . . . .	161
	Bowles' Proposition on Competition Among the Education Lobbies . . . . .	162
	Proposition by Martorana and Smutz on the Fusing Effect of Statewide Coordination. . . . .	163
	Thompson's Proposition on the Legislative Process . . . . .	164
	Burlingame's Proposition on Legisla- tive Trade-offs of Appropriations for and Autonomy of Postsecondary Education . . . . .	165
	Blocker's Propositions on Legisla- tive Maneuvers and Tactics. . . . .	166
VII	SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY . . . . .	169
	The Purpose and Design of the Study . . . . .	169
	Summary of Findings . . . . .	170
	Conclusions . . . . .	190
	Recommendations for Further Study . . . . .	195
	APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW GUIDE A . . . . .	197
	APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW GUIDE B . . . . .	198
	APPENDIX C: A LIST OF THOSE INDIVIDUALS INTERVIEWED . . . . .	200
	LIST OF REFERENCES. . . . .	201
	BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH . . . . .	206

# LIST OF TABLES

TABLE 1	Model of a Legislative System. . . . .	24
TABLE 2	Comparison of Senate Bill 986, Senate Bill 1275, Senate Bill 1276, and the House Higher Education Committee proposed Committee Bill No. 1 . . . . .	97
TABLE 3	Comparison of House Bills 1769 and the Committee Substitute for Senate Bill 986. . . . .	100
TABLE 4	Frequency With Which Influential Individuals were Identified In interviews. . . . .	121
TABLE 5	Average Ranking of Influence of Individuals Identified in the Interviews . . . . .	124
TABLE 6	Influential Groups Identified in the Interviews. . . . .	125



Abstract of Dissertation Presented to the Graduate Council  
of the University of Florida in Partial Fulfillment  
of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

THE 1980 FLORIDA LEGISLATIVE SYSTEM  
AND THE PASSAGE OF AN  
OMNIBUS POSTSECONDARY EDUCATION BILL

By

Mary Lynn Lyle

August 1981

Chairperson: Dr. Phillip A. Clark

Major Department: Educational Administration and Supervision

The purpose of the study was to describe the legislative system as it operated in Florida during the 1980 passage of House Bill 7-D. The investigation focused on the issues involved; the individuals, groups, and environmental conditions influential in the passage of the bill; the internal legislative processes; the feedback resulting from the bill; and, finally, the degree to which the findings of this study were consistent with propositions selected from the literature.

A descriptive case study design using reputational and decision analysis techniques was used. Information was obtained from interviews with 22 individuals identified as

influential and from an examination of pertinent public documents, including newspaper accounts.

The three most important issues surrounding the bill were several proposed university mergers, the status of the Board of Regents, and faculty salaries. Twelve of the twenty most influential individuals listed, including the top six, were legislators. Many informal groups supporting and opposing certain sections of the bill seemed to form. House Bill 7-D included a veto by the governor and a State Supreme Court ruling favoring his position that a proviso tying faculty salary funds in the appropriations bill to the passage of the omnibus higher education bill was unconstitutional.

The findings of the study were consistent with six of seven propositions chosen from the literature.

Systems theory was the most comprehensive of the five theories chosen from the literature. Because it was interpreted to allow for incorporation of conflict regulation, informal power structure, and arena theories, all supported by the results, systems theory was determined to be the most applicable one to the case under study. Interest group theory was not supported by the results.

The study concluded that even though the legislative process was perceived as poor by the press, the governor, educators and the House leadership itself, the overall outcome was not necessarily negative.

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION AND DESIGN OF THE STUDY

During the final hours of an extension of the 1980 Florida legislative session, House and Senate members of the Education Conference Committee could not reach agreement on higher education legislation. Later the next week during a special session called for that purpose, the hostage bill was finally released by the Senate leadership. When the conference committee came to an agreement House Bill 7-D was passed on the floors of both chambers.

House Bill 7-D, an omnibus bill of high priority to the House leadership, was very controversial. It included a reorganization of postsecondary education with the following provisions:

1. Designating the State Board of Education as the statewide coordinating and planning agency.
2. Creating the Postsecondary Education Coordinating Commission (PECC) with the responsibility of preparing and submitting to the State Board of Education a master plan.
3. Merging the University of Florida with the University of North Florida and University Hospital, both in Jacksonville.
4. Expanding the membership of the Board of Regents and shortening the terms of office.

5. Establishing advisory boards of trustees for each of the nine universities.
6. Establishing a branch of an undesignated existing university in Broward County.

House Bill 7-D was a compromise bill which finally evolved from three Senate bills and one House bill. One of the Senate bills reflected the governor's positions.

Amid rumors that he was considering a veto, the governor received the bill on his desk in June. Throughout the state speculation and controversy continued for the entire 10 days he had to consider the bill before it would become law without his signature. The day before the deadline the governor announced in a press conference that he would indeed veto the bill and, for the second year running, he would challenge the Legislature in court over the constitutionality of a rider to an appropriations bill. The rider in this instance required passage of House Bill 7-D for university faculty to receive a pay raise.

Why was House Bill 7-D so controversial? Most educators were opposed to certain segments of the bill and in favor of others. There had been no feasibility study of the proposed merger. The salary raises were thrown into the appropriations bill toward the end of the session to "sweeten" House Bill 7-D. No preliminary studies of the need in Broward County for a branch had been conducted. It was the fear of the Board of

Regents that the proposed advisory boards of trustees were the first step in a two-part plan to set up individual governing boards for the nine universities. The community colleges were concerned that in the proposed PECC the influence of the universities would overshadow the needs of the two-year institutions. Upper-division universities in the urban areas had been seeking lower divisions, but the bill provided only feasibility studies. The list of objections could go on and on.

Without the support of the leadership of professional educators in the state, the Legislature was attempting through House Bill 7-D to make monumental changes in the postsecondary education system. This activity in Florida is consistent with a nationwide trend of encroachment by state government on the affairs of postsecondary education (Moos & Rourke, 1959; McConnell, 1962; Chambers, 1970; Gove & Floyd, 1973; Blocker, Bender, & Martorana, 1975; Martorana & Smutz, 1980). State versus local control and centralization versus decentralization were issues involved in House Bill 7-D.

The public postsecondary education system must function in a highly political environment. For years educators were not willing to recognize that fact and maintained that higher education should be treated not as other state agencies, but instead as a fourth branch of government. There have

been, however, heightened attempts at state interference with the functioning of postsecondary education. These efforts are the result of a number of well-known factors, including the following:

1. Increased state financial support.
2. Deteriorating public opinion of the efficiency of state government and education in general and postsecondary education in particular.
3. Heightened competition among various state services for declining resources.
4. Greater concern for accountability.

In Florida there has been evidence of dissatisfaction with higher education decisionmaking at the state level. In 1969 Usdan, Miner, and Hurwitz reported this finding and claimed that there was no clearcut differentiation of role between the Board of Regents and the State Board of Education. The existing structure, they said, was inadequate to meet the needs of an expanding system because of the need to clarify functions and relationships among various boards. In interviewing key leaders in the state, they found that the Board of Regents was perceived as not asserting itself in the development of strong universities.

Similar perceptions were reported in 1977 in a study by R. L. Scott. The results of his survey of Florida legislators and state agency personnel indicated a decline in legislative attitude toward higher education. This unfavorable trend

was found to have lessened in the two years prior to the survey. However, only a minority of the legislative respondents expressed confidence in the accuracy and comprehensiveness of information provided by the state education agencies or in the sincerity of state agencies' efforts to respond to legislative direction and intent.

In a discussion of the nationwide phenomenon of lack of confidence in higher education, M. M. Chambers, an advocate of voluntary statewide coordination and considerable decentralization, made the following points (1970):

. . . [There is] distrust, some real and some feigned, by some legislators and state administrative officers who grumblingly question the efficiency of the management of state universities and colleges and the efficiency of the statewide development of postsecondary education. Only rarely are such innuendos reducible to a specific complaint. Rarely is any factual evidence adduced in their support.

It is well to be candid and recognize that some of this alleged lack of confidence is sincere, even if mistaken; and that some of it stems solely from a power struggle by overly ambitious office-holders and would-be officeholders for control of the expenditures of large sums of state tax moneys. (p.7)

Legislators' perceptions of higher education, as much as the reality, were at issue here. Legislators' dissatisfaction with the performance of the Board of Regents was probably one of the factors which led to the passage of House Bill 1689 by the 1979 Legislature. House Bill 1689 had as its intent

decentralization of some of the governing powers of the Board of Regents. For example, the law transferred to university presidents the authority to prepare budgets which would be submitted intact to the Legislature. On the other hand, House Bill 1689 created another layer of governance for two-year institutions, the State Community College Coordinating Board.

In an attempt to continue efforts to reorganize post-secondary education, House Bill 1689 mandated the establishment of a Joint Legislative and Executive Commission on Postsecondary Education. Its members, appointed by the governor, the speaker of the House, and the president of the Senate, met 12 times between August 1979 and February 1980. Joint Commission recommendations included the creation of a lay master planning board to replace the State Board of Education in program and budget review and master plan development and adoption (Report and Recommendations, 1980). The report also recommended feasibility studies of two mergers, one between Florida International University and Florida Atlantic University and another between the University of Florida and the University of North Florida. There was no consensus among the members of the joint commission. A minority report issued by four dissenting Senators was an indication of the controversy to come in the upcoming legis-



lative session. Consensus on the future of higher education in Florida was not achieved.

How can the study of the 1980 passage and veto of House Bill 7-D contribute to the field of postsecondary education? It is a prevalent opinion that educators are not sophisticated in a conceptual understanding of the political process (Blocker et al., 1975). Even though most educators are now aware of the intense politization of educational issues, many have not developed the skills of effective political maneuvering. Even though there is a small body of literature on state politics and K-12 education (Masters et al., 1964; Bailey et al., 1962; Iannacone, 1967; Campbell & Mazzoni, 1976), it has been criticized for its lack of adequate methodology, theory generation, and helpful conclusions (Burlingame, 1979). Although many of the findings of these studies on politics and K-12 education may be pertinent to postsecondary education, there is debate even on that point. Blocker et al. (1975) claimed that postsecondary issues and political processes differ significantly from those of K-12 and that, therefore, it cannot be assumed that the K-12 literature in this area is pertinent.

There have been relatively few comprehensive studies of state politics and postsecondary education. Many authors have considered the area as it tangentially relates to state systems of postsecondary education (Chambers, 1970). Some

authors have attempted a more comprehensive approach (Usdan et al., 1969; Blocker et al., 1975). However, each state is different and even though the literature may present some principles common to each state, politics is a field of ever-changing actors and issues. Even less higher education literature exists on the legislative process and how it operates to produce educational legislation. Studying the political scene in depth can only serve to increase educators' conceptual understanding and enable them to more fully develop and utilize political skills. Educational legislation has been described as a moving train; those charged with the responsibility of providing information must be able to keep up with the legislative agenda if they wish to have an impact (Florio, 1979).

#### Statement of the Problem

The problem of this study was to describe the legislative system as it operated in Florida during the 1980 passage of House Bill 7-D. The investigation focuses specifically on the following questions:

1. What were the issues directly and indirectly related to the bill?
2. Who were the individuals most influential in support of and in opposition to the bill?

3. What were the most important environmental conditions which influenced the passage and veto of House Bill 7-D?
4. What internal legislative processes were operating to produce House Bill 7-D?
5. What feedback to the Legislature resulted from the passage of House Bill 7-D? What has been and will be the impact of that feedback on the Legislature?
6. To what extent are the findings of this study consistent with propositions selected from a review of the scholarly literature on the legislative process and educational legislation?

#### Limitations

There were several threats to internal validity inherent in this case study method. First of all, certain documents like pertinent clips of "Today in Legislature" produced by public television no longer exist. This was not a serious limitation because relatively little time has passed and most documents were still available. Secondly, there may have been a number of threats to the validity of information obtained in the retrospective interviews. Information may have been remembered accurately or inaccurately by the respondents. Even though relatively little time has passed, so that memories probably have not faded, the issues and

parties involved in the legislation were so numerous and complex that the accuracy of the responses may be in doubt. In addition, respondents may or may not have chosen to report both accurate and inaccurate information. Due to the controversial nature of the legislation, objectivity of the respondents may have been questionable. Certain means described in the procedures section were used to minimize these threats to internal validity.

There were also threats to external validity. The findings were not generalizable to other states because a case study design was used. In addition, the findings were not even predictive of influences and processes related to future educational legislation in Florida.

#### Assumptions

It was assumed that the interviewees had sufficient insight to identify the influences and processes operating in the passage and veto of House Bill 7-D. It was further assumed that this information was contained in the public documents examined and/or in the interviews conducted. Finally, it was assumed that the researcher was able to discern through cross-checks and through her own judgment whether responses were accurate and objective.

## Procedures

### Study Design

A descriptive case study design was used combining elements of two approaches described by Fox (1969), historical and retrospective research. Each approach served to verify or question data obtained with the other. If written records and public documents were not available or if those reviewed did not produce the information sought, then retrospective interviews filled in the gaps. Written records and comparing results of the interviews with one another also served to verify the accuracy and objectivity of interview responses. These measures did not control all sources of error, but they did allow a somewhat, if not completely, effective check of the data for congruence.

More specifically the design was based on a combination of Hunter's reputational technique (1953) and Dahl's decision-analysis technique (1961), both designed to study community power structure. Presthus (1964) and Nunnery and Kimbrough (1976) have suggested that such a combination will render a more completely accurate picture of the power structure. Kimbrough (1964) found that to be true when he used the combination method in several power structure studies in Florida counties.

### Data Sources

Three types of data sources were utilized. For the first source, scholarly literature on state educational politics, the legislative system, and educational legislation with a focus on postsecondary education was reviewed. The second source was comprised of written records and public documents such as the Department of Education Clipping Service, Educational Legislative Reports, House and Senate Journals, and the Clerk's Manual.

The final source, new factual and opinion data, was created through two sets of interviews. The first set was conducted to determine the most important issues and influential individuals. Interviews were requested with a panel of knowledgeable persons selected because of their positions. See Appendix B for the names of those interviewed. Interviews were requested from those filling the following positions:

1. Commissioner of Education
2. President of the Senate
3. Speaker of the House
4. Chairperson and staff director of the Senate Education Committee
5. Chairperson and staff director of the House Higher Education Committee
6. Staff directors of the House Appropriations Committee and the Senate Ways and Means Committee

7. Chancellor of the State University System
8. Director of Community College Division
9. Informed journalist
10. Governor's Education Policy Unit Coordinator

In-depth interviews were then conducted with those individuals named the most influential by the panel of knowledgeable persons.

### Instrumentation

Two interview schedules were used to structure the interviews. The schedules contained open-ended items and were tested in interviews with a knowledgeable person and a legislator. Necessary revisions were made.

A simple instrument, Interview Guide A (Appendix A), was used to identify the influential individuals and the most significant issues related to the bill.

A second instrument, Interview Guide B (Appendix B), was used with the identified influential individuals. Specific questions were designed to determine the legislative input, process, output, and feedback factors. In addition, certain questions were designed to investigate propositions derived from the relevant scholarly literature.

### Data Collection and Treatment

The following steps were followed in collecting the data:

1. Letters of introduction from the committee chairperson were sent to the 12 knowledgeable persons requesting their cooperation and support.
2. Personal interviews using Guide A were held with those knowledgeable or their substitutes.
3. The results of the first interviews were analyzed to determine the identified issues and influential individuals.
4. Letters of introduction from the committee chairperson were sent to the identified influential individuals seeking their cooperation.
5. Personal interviews with the identified influentials were conducted using Guide B.
6. The data were analyzed by inspection and are presented in the form of narrative and lists. In addition, the data were analyzed in light of the propositions derived from a review of the relevant scholarly literature.

Chapter I was an introduction to the study and a description of the design of the study. Chapter II is a review of the literature.



## CHAPTER II

### REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

This review of the scholarly literature begins with a description of methods of studying politics. Subsequent sections summarize literature on state educational politics and the legislative system in a format organized around the systems approach to studying the legislature described on Pages 22-26. Those subsequent sections cover literature on environmental inputs which are economic, social, and cultural conditions and from influential groups and persons; on conversion processes which are the dynamics of the legislative process; on the output or product of the legislative system; written legislation itself; and on feedback which is the way the output affects the system, possibly as a new input. The final section is a discussion of the literature on the politics of higher education.

#### Theories of the Political Process

##### Conflict Regulation Theory

The first theory considered which attempts to explain the political process, the theory of conflict regulation, was developed by Lewis Froman (Froman, 1963). This theory purports that physical needs and special wants of one individual or group conflict in interaction with those of another

individual or group. These needs and wants create tensions if insufficient resources exist to satisfy them. A choice must be made in meeting competing demands. Politics is the struggle over the allocation of social values and resources.

Harold Lasswell, the political scientist, suggested a definition of politics when he described it as "who gets what, when and where?" (Dahl, 1963). Conflict over this allocation surrounds such issues as curriculum, administration, integration, governance, funding, building, and purchasing (Thompson, 1976). Competition occurs between education and other agencies of government. At times it also occurs between various sectors or levels of education, that is, between K-12 and higher education, or among community colleges and universities, or among individual universities (Usdan, Miner, and Hurwitz, 1969).

### Interest Group Theory

According to interest group theory, political processes operate from a group basis (Thompson, 1976). Interest or pressure groups are defined as any voluntary organization attempting to influence public policy. These interest groups are a means of expressing the demands of the citizenry which arise when existing institutions are inadequate to meet new demands placed on the system. Interest groups serve the following four functions:

1. Rallying point for individuals.
2. Delineation of the issues.
3. Provision of relevant information and identification of biased data from opposing groups.
4. Movement toward consensus or compromise through interaction with competing interest groups.

The politician as decision-broker will adopt a policy related to the strength of force of the interest groups. The policy adopted will be the sum of the vector forces where each vector represents the total force and direction of each group as determined by age, respectability, status, size of membership, intensity of interest, etc.

Iannaccone (1957), Bowles (1958), Burlingame et al. (1979), and Rost (1979) discussed educational interest groups and their relationship to educational legislation. See pages 31-33, for a discussion of their findings.

In 1951 David Truman authored a highly regarded landmark publication on interest groups. This work is considered to be imaginative, thoughtful, and complete (Salisbury, 1970). In his book Truman details the circumstances of the involvement of interest groups in the activities of governing; the formal structure, internal politics and leadership of interest groups; and the tactics of interest groups in the governmental arena. Truman was very confident of the generally salutary

effects of group pressures as part of the democratic process of government.

Salisbury (1970) was a proponent of the exchange theory of interest groups. His argument was that interest group origins, growth, death, and associated lobbying activity may all be better explained if they are regarded as exchange relationships between entrepreneur/organizers, who invest capital in a set of benefits which they offer to prospective members at a price--membership. Salisbury claims that his is an effort to develop a theory of interest groups, not an interest group theory of politics.

A political party can also be defined as a special interest group. It is a volunteer organization with the main purpose of getting officials elected. It must have a broader appeal than other special interest groups. According to Thompson (1976), there is a growing recognition of the need for party support in the policymaking area. Higher education has been handicapped because of educators' long-standing aloofness from party politics.

#### Informal Power Structure Theory

Informal influence on policymaking is the third theory of political process. According to this theory not all persons participate equally in government. Most are relatively inactive while a few are very active. In Politics

in States and Communities, Dye (1977) stated that less than 1% of the population runs for political office. Only 5% are active in campaigns; 10% make campaign contributions; 15% wear buttons or display bumper stickers; fewer than 20% write or call elected officials; 30% belong to an organized interest group; 35% talk politics to others; and 30 to 60% vote, depending on the election. Over one-third of the population is politically apathetic, unaware, and does not vote at all.

In studying community power structures, Hunter (1959) developed the reputational technique. Using that technique, he studied the informal decisionmakers and the business-dominated power elite in Atlanta. Challenging Hunter's method, Dahl (1961) developed the decision analysis technique which he used to identify a pluralist power structure in New Haven, Connecticut. Dahl believed that the system of decision-making was pluralist with competing centers of power both within the political elite and outside it. In all these studies it was found that some persons influenced others; some have power to alter the actions and conduct of others; and some employ their resources to sway the outcome of community decisions.

Lutz (1965) listed the following seven bases of power:

1. Wealth and sanctions.
2. Information and communications.
3. Control over groups.
4. Control over status and prestige.
5. Personal popularity and charisma.
6. Powers of office, law, and constitution.
7. The right to vote.

This method of studying politics focuses on the importance of informal social contacts and communication among influentials. A network for access to and exchange of political support is essential.

There are very few power structure studies of states; most have been on communities (Press and VerBurg, 1979). One exception is the Associated Press study of the ten most powerful people in Illinois (Press and VerBurg, 1979). The AP study used the reputational technique developed by Hunter. The results of the study found that more than half of those on the list made their living in private businesses. Three were active politicians and two were from the media.

Phelan's and Pozen's book (1973) The Company State reported a study of state-level power structure in Delaware. They found the pluralist model was not applicable to Delaware because the DuPont Company and the DuPont family were so overwhelmingly powerful that the balancing process among interest groups simply did not work. More often than not the authors found the interests of the corporate elite did not overlap with the interests of others.

Press and VerBurg (1979) stated that neither a tightly controlled elite model nor one of pluralism approaching anarchy seems to describe very well the decision pattern of most states today. Two forces do characterize that decision-making today. The first is the traditional influence of private economic groups with the acceptance by nonelite citizens of many of these decisions. The second is a growing pluralism brought about by the increasing role of government, the increasing importance of intergovernmental relations, and the emergence of new groups that are becoming part of the changing state and community political elites (Press and VerBurg, 1979).

Through this line of study emerged the view of policy making as a process of turning inputs to outputs. A degree of consensus is required to enable influentials to resolve conflicts and exercise power in the allocation of resources. Specific roles and rules limit the behavior of individuals within the political game.

For example, the material in Dye's Politics in State and Communities (1977) tends towards a kind of conspiratorial or community politics theory of state politics. One of Dye's propositions is that most state legislatures function as arbiters of the public policy rather than as initiators. Policy initiation is the function of the governor, the

bureaucrat, and the interest group. Legislatures are placed in the role of responding to the stimulus provided by these groups and the structure of legislatures clearly reflects their deliberative functions. As arbiters, legislators are able to develop a degree of consensus to resolve conflicts, exercise power, and allocate resources.

In another proposition about legislatures, Dye (1977) stated that they function to inject into public decision-making a parochial influence. They have close ties to their local constituencies including religious and ethnic affiliations, businesses, and clubs. Legislatures function to represent locally organized interests rather than statewide constituencies.

### Systems Theory

The final and the most comprehensive method of studying politics to be discussed is the systems theory. In the Seventy-sixth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education (1977), Lutz states that all general systems models involve the variables of inputs, outputs, and a processing system through which inputs are converted to outputs, and, in the case of cybernetics, an open system functioning with a feedback-feedforward mechanism. Lutz describes three general system models, the Almond-Coleman (1960) Model classifying school board political behavior



using public minutes, the Easton (1965) model called the dynamic response model, and the Tri-systems model combining systems variables described by a number of authors.

Thompson (1976) explained that in order to identify the boundaries of a system and construct a model the following questions are asked:

1. Who are the parties interacting in the social sytem?
2. What do they bring with them to the system as to (a) their role expectations, (b) their perception of the world, and (c) their sources of influence and power, and what access do they have to decision-making centers?
3. What environmental facts affect the system, and how do the various social systems interact with the broader environment, and how do the various subsystems affect and influence other parts of the educational system?
4. What are the decision-making processes?

Meranto (1967) utilized a similar systems approach in studying the passage of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 by the U. S. Congress. Table 1 is an adaption of Meranto's model of the analysis of the legislative

Model of a Legislative System

<u>ENVIRONMENTAL INPUTS</u>	<u>CONVERSION PROCESSES</u>	<u>OUTPUT</u>
Circumstantial Conditions	Legislative Withinputs	
Economic Factors		
Social Factors	Identification	
Cultural Factors	Bargaining	Legislation
	Legal Mechanisms	
<u>Demand Articulators</u>	Coercion	
Constituents		
Organized Interest Groups	Tactical Maneuvers & Techniques	
The Governor		
State Educational Agency Officials	Influential Legislators	
Institutional Officials		

FEEDBACK

Public, executive, judicial, and  
legislative reactions

system. The model assumes that the reason the political system is different from other systems is that it is predominantly oriented toward the authoritative allocation of values for society, appropriations, laurels, resources, etc. (Easton, 1965). A political system is an open system which can be distinguished from its environment, yet it is open to influences from other systems. Environmental conditions are transmitted as input into the legislative system either by direct impact on legislators who perceive those environmental conditions (economic, social, cultural, and other factors) as political demands requiring responses or by demand articulators (constitutents, organized interest groups, the governor, state education agency, and institutional officials). Through a series of conversion processes these inputs are converted into outputs by the legislative system. The authoritative allocation of values, usually appropriations or laws, are the outputs. In turn, the outputs affect the environment and feedback may result in another demand or input on the system.

The conversion process, turning inputs to outputs, involves the interaction of various cultural, structural and situational factors (Thompson, 1976). Structural factors are long-term situations, including socioeconomic levels, demographic characteristics, economic conditions, the degree

of political consensus, the number and types of organizations, legal structures, and powers of government. Cultural factors include the value commitments of citizens and the community at large, the role of education, the legitimacy of the demands of various groups, and the norms of political participation. These cultural factors correspond to the concept of political culture defined by Lucien Pye (1968) as the set of attitudes, beliefs, and sentiments that give order and meaning to a political process. Situational factors are short-term, including the incumbents in office and their values, members of the leadership, the strength of groups, and their access.

Thompson (1976) identified four adaptive processes active in conversion. The first is identification, a feeling of oneness. The strategy is to get the public or the legislature to identify more with education.

The second is bargaining, a system of exchange. The process involves trying to get something from someone by convincing him that it is to his advantage to give it. Success depends on bargaining power or the number of alternatives one has relative to his opponent. The legislative process is a form of bargaining.

A third, the legal/bureaucratic process, relies on authority to justify actions. Success depends on the degree of legitimacy and acceptance of the authority.

The fourth adaptive process is coercion. This process depends on the narrowing of alternatives to the point that the other has no choice but to comply. The choice of which of the four processes to use depends on both the policymaker's perception of environmental challenges and problems requiring action and the nature of social interaction between policy-makers and various segments.

According to Thompson (1976), the systems approach suggests that the political output of one level of government is the political input of another level of government. There are political systems within systems. For example, the states function within the suprasystem of the federal government (Press and VerBurg, 1979). Different interest groups have more or less influence with each level of government and therefore political outputs differ.

### Arena Theory

The arena perspective makes some strong assumptions about how decisionmaking is best explained. According to Wiles et al. (1981), the arena theory offers an explanation of individual actions taken situation to situation which implies that the perspective is issue-oriented and the arena itself depends upon choice. Thus both the rules for deciding an issue and the individuals involved in the decision are particular to that issue. It also means that the actual

processes of deciding are not clear-cut. The competitive trading that occurs may offer no clear delineation between the immediate and long-range objectives or between symbolic and concrete options. Finally, there is usually no automatic agreement or consensus that is reached by those involved in a choice (Wiles et al., 1981).

Wiles et al. (1981) believe that the systems theory and other popular models of decisionmaking are too general and, consequently, make decisionmaking appear too stable. The systems approach presents a rationalistic world governed by identifiable inputs and outputs that link process and product in a systematic fashion. Supporters of the arena model believe this interpretation is artificial and paints a false picture of how decisions are actually made in today's world. The assumption that a leader will find a stable decision environment is viewed as false. Although elements of potential stability are always present, there is no automatic guarantee that these elements will influence a particular choice. There is no guarantee that the past will guide the present or that current decisions will accurately project the future. The arena model is a model where change is assumed to be as likely as stability. Tendencies and precedents can be discussed only in the context of potential (Wiles et al., 1981).

Decisionmaking is viewed by the arena model as a process in which players and rules for deciding may be constantly changing. The actual trading associated with a particular decision may be a blur of long- and short-range objectives and symbolic and concrete options. It is not necessary that deciders agree or be like-minded.

In the arena model the leader's role is analogous to a poker player's. Each player judges a particular situation differently and the only way to describe such arenas is to infer behavior from the actual dynamics of choice. Wiles et al. (1981) suggest that six poker rules, even though they do not guarantee success for any single individual, do provide standards to judge the situational perspective and a way to judge decision behavior. Those six rules in order of priority follow:

1. There is never such a thing as a "sure hand" in an honest game.
2. Never play a totally new game when significant stakes are involved.
3. To come out ahead you expect to win some and lose some.
4. To come out ahead you play for the long haul. Winning is not really a one-shot, dramatic phenomenon but more likely a gradual accumulation of chips.
5. Contrasting with golf, it's how you drive and how you arrive. We judge "winners" by process and products of choice.
6. Each deal starts the players anew.

In his book Essence of Decision, Graham Allison (1971) distinguishes between stable and unstable situations. In

order to develop appropriate strategy it is necessary to identify characteristics of stability and instability that are part of the actual dynamics of choice within the arena. What works in a stable situation may be the opposite of what works in an unstable situation. A stable arena is most likely to be found when resources are abundant, when the power structure is a single pyramid of influence, and where natural decision laws of the bureaucracy are a way of life. At the other end of the continuum, the most unstable arena would be where there is a famine of available resources, where the power structure shifts with the issue and has no other ongoing stability, and where each of the natural laws of bureaucratic choice has been challenged openly.

In a stable arena, the surest route to success is to go with the winners and not rock the boat. The bottom line for judging success is stability so change must be a slow, measured, incremental process where the player has power figures in the arena discover and own the new directions (Wiles et al., 1981).

On the other hand, there is no sure formula for success by any player in an unstable arena. Coalitions shift issue to issue and those who were chiefs often become Indians. In general, the Golden Rule makes both political and ethical sense. The unstable arena almost guarantees that the others



will have their chance and that every player is known, foremost, by his or her track record and style (Wiles et al., 1981).

Literature Related to Environmental Inputs--  
Circumstantial Conditions and Demand Articulators

It is helpful to review circumstantial conditions such as economic, social, and cultural factors impacting on educational legislation. Iannacone (1967) found that linkages or conduits of information are affected by conditions of the environment. These linkages may shift in response to surplus or scarcity.

Demand articulators are the influential individuals and groups who transmit environmental inputs to the legislative system. Bailey et al. (1962) and Masters et al. (1964) found some states use specific strategies to achieve consensus among the education lobbies. Other states were involved in a collaborative effort. Iannacone (1967), who accepted interest group theory, studied 11 states to identify specific structures linking state educational interest groups with the legislature. Based on his findings, he identified four different types of structure. They are locally based disparate, monolithic, fragmented-competitive, and syndical. Iannacone believed it is possible to trace the development of a state's structure from the first stage through the third stage. The

fourth stage was simply a projection of the type of structure he thought states would move into in the future. He hypothesized that the type of structure determines the ability of the education lobby to influence legislation. He studied the following three variables of the legislative process:

1. Usual loci of accommodation of educational legislation.
2. Legislators' sentiments about education.
3. Education's potential in preventing or passing legislation.

Bowles (1968) stated that as the competition among the education lobby increases, the locus of accommodation moves from within the profession to the larger state political arena. Competition and cooperation among the educational special interest groups is an important factor to consider in the analysis of educational legislation. Thompson (1976) found a growing pluralism of educational interest groups. Burlingame et al. (1979) found a continuing fragmentation of the educational coalition.

Rost (1979) proposed that the concept of the developmental process of state educational systems devised by Iannacone in 1967 was inaccurate. He suggested that rather than syndical, the fourth stage is more accurately the complete politization of education, rendering it simply one of many essential state services competing for resources.

Among others, the characteristics of this stage include the following aspects:

1. The governor and key political leaders in and out of the legislature dominate as the main policy-makers in education.
2. There are distinct educational positions in platforms and campaigns.
3. Educational special interest groups play a more active role in elections.
4. There is a demonopolizing trend whereby educational services will be given by a variety of public and private agencies which compete in a market for consumers.

The Florida Cabinet acting as the State Board of Education is another demand articulator. The report by Usdan et al. (1969) stated that most students of government, both within and outside the state, have criticized the Florida cabinet system as being archaic, confusing to the public, cumbersome, and inefficient in its operation. Many efforts to dismantle the cabinet system have been attempted, including the constitutional revision attempt that failed in 1979. Elsewhere in the literature, Rost (1979) stated that the complete politization of education will be characterized by a state board that will take on the role of a special interest group.

Urdan et al. (1969) also reported that there was a perceived need to clarify various board relationships, functions, and structures in the Florida higher education system.

All sectors of postsecondary education could be considered demand articulators in the legislative system. Martorana and Smutz (1980), Gove and Floyd (1973), and Rosenbaum (1973) have noted a leveling or fusing effect as a result of statewide coordination. All sectors--universities and community colleges--are therefore perceived as a whole system and not as a hierarchy of systems.

How effectively do the sectors of postsecondary education transmit inputs? Scott (1977) found an unfavorable trend in Florida legislators' perception of higher education, but the decline was less severe in the last two years of the period under study. He discovered that only a minority of the legislative respondents expressed confidence in the accuracy and comprehensiveness of the information provided and in the sincerity of educational agencies' efforts to respond to legislative direction and intent.

Campbell and Mazzoni (1976) found that chief state school officers are influential in the educational policymaking, but not always in legislation. The chief state school officer in Florida is the commissioner of education.

The governor is considered another demand articulator. Thompson (1976) stated that the influence of governors in policymaking has been enhanced in recent years. Yet gubernatorial authority, he said, is fragmented.

Schlesinger (1971) ranked the Florida governorship as 47th out of 50 in formal powers. With a possible score of 5 on each of the indices, Florida scored 3 on tenure, 2 on appointment powers, 1 on budget, and 3 on veto with a total index of 9 out of a possible 20. Burlingame et al. (1979) suggested further study of the power of the governor to set agency budget requests and of the environmental factors which influence the gubernatorial power in this area. It is important to consider the balance of power between the executive and legislative branches of government as they relate to educational legislation.

Burlingame et al. (1979) noted an increase in size and professionalization of the executive staffs. He suggested that this is an important factor and urged further research. He noted an increase in planning agencies housed in the governor's office from 5 to 36 between 1950 and 1971. Masters et al. (1964) found that the governor and legislature in Michigan had more power due to party disagreements, changing conflict patterns, and lack of unity among education groups.

### Literature Related to Conversion Processes

Conversion processes are the internal processes of the legislative system operating to convert inputs into outputs. Party politics is one factor affecting conversion processes. Jewell and Patterson (1977) listed Florida as a one-party-dominant state because the Republican Party had captured the governorship at least once, but had never gained a majority in the Legislature during the period 1953 to 1976. The Republicans consistently had enough legislative strength to be recognizable as a functioning minority party. The Democratic Party dominated the Legislature for such a long time that legislative norms and practices were significantly different than those in most two-party states. Thompson (1976) stated that with one-party states divisions come on interest, regional, or factional lines.

Thompson (1976) also stated that legislatures have continued to lose influence to governors and executive agencies. Martorana and Smutz (1980) stated that governors played the major role in higher education while the influence of legislatures had been reduced. State legislatures, he found, were taking steps to reassert themselves.

DePalma (1973) found that a small group of influential Florida legislators had a great deal of control over the legislative process through a system which interlocked the

education, finance, and tax committees. Campbell and Mazzoni (1976) noted a growth of size and expertise in legislative staffs.

Among other conversion processes, Burlingame et al. (1979) noted bargaining and trade-offs between the state and postsecondary education of appropriations and autonomy. The state would trade greater appropriations to institutions for reductions in their autonomy.

Meranto (1967) said that the conversion process as part of an equilibrium model is centered on conflict adjustment and consensus building likely to result in a series of incremental changes. In order to achieve consensus on a controversial issue, which is most likely a group of inter-related issues rather than an isolated one, the set of issues must be resolved one at a time. Blocker et al. (1975) said that competition among elites may become heated, but it ultimately ends in a compromise.

Florio (1979) stated that policy studies and evaluative evidence are used as ammunition in congressional fights. He also found that policy-makers in Congress complain about the inadequacy of evaluation and policy studies.

Political caucuses and public hearings are two other conversion processes. Reed (1975) found that political caucuses were more influential than public hearings or the

governor on the legislation in the Pennsylvania House of Representatives.

Florio (1979) found that legislation reauthorizing federal educational programs passed by overwhelming majorities in both houses because the size and detail of the bills precluded significant modification when the two houses met in plenary session. These could be labelled omnibus bills.

Blocker et al. (1976) suggested that technical maneuvers and techniques to implement the maneuvers are part of the conversion process of the legislative system. The maneuvers identified were: (1) tacit agreement, (2) confrontation, (3) trial balloon, (4) emotionalism, (5) historical precedent, (6) passive resistance, (7) selective communications, (8) compromise or concession, (9) counterthrusts or passing the buck, and (10) timing, i.e., stalling or deadlines. The tactical techniques identified were: (1) divide and conquer, (2) frontman test of reactions, (3) membership/chairperson stacking, (4) ad hococracy, (5) pressure, and (6) publicity.

Specific legislative tactics identified by Blocker et al. (1976) included (1) the use of amendments to overcome both legislative and veto opposition, (2) hearings, both during the session and between sessions, and (3) riders. Other factors identified were the characteristics of



legislators, i.e., lawyers, alumni, urban/rural, liberal/conservative, upstate/downstate.

#### Literature Related to Output and Feedback

Meranto (1967) used the systems approach to study an example of such legislation, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act passed by Congress in 1965. This act, a new output, was the result of a mixture of past and immediate changes both in the environment and within the political system which came together in a unique grouping capable of generating a new major public policy that had long been blocked by a variety of factors. Output refers to written legislation, the actual product of the legislative branch.

Martorana and Smutz (1980) have studied output annually since 1973. Their study of educational legislation across the country from 1973 to 1978 found that there was a recent effort to strengthen state coordinating boards. However, there was a 50% decrease in coordination legislation from 1976 to 1978. They attributed this decrease to the prevalence of a belief that sufficient structure for coordination was then in place.

Buchanan (1977) noted a trend of drastic abrupt changes in governance of higher education. She described the abrupt

merger of the University of Wisconsin and the state university system in 1971 by the Legislature.

The outputs in turn affect the environment and as feedback may result in an early demand for input on the system. Meranto (1967) used the example of the feedback effect of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 on the passage of the 1965 school-aid bill. Although the Civil Rights Act did not directly include reference to federal aid to education, it had an important feedback effect on the school-aid bill by dealing with the question of federal aid and segregation at the broadest level. In effect, it removed from consideration one of the major issues that had blocked the enactment of earlier school-aid bills.

Another example of feedback was identified by Buchanan (1977) when she suggested that the combined political panel of the merged institutions in Wisconsin had increased the ability of higher education to deal with the efforts of the governor and the Legislature to impose controls through a centralized administration.

A veto is an example of feedback. No studies on the feedback effects of a veto on higher educational legislation have been identified.

#### An Overview of the Literature on the Politics of Higher Education

In a 1968 bibliographic essay, Gove and Solomon found little material on the relationship of higher education and

state politics. What they did find dealt with the encroachment of state politics on the operation of higher education, the erosion of traditional faculty freedoms, and interference with college administration. There was little or no treatment of the process of policymaking. In common to these authors was the view that at best state governments did not understand the peculiar problems of higher education and at worst they used higher education for partisan political purposes. It was found that coordinating bodies neglected their relationships with the legislature and often with the institutions. The role of governance was explored and often commonsense statements took the place of empirical studies.

Research on state government and the political environment in which a university operates was less well developed than research on the university as a formal organization. Major characteristics of the political environment had not been labeled and contrasted with other organizations. The literature stressed the proper limits of states and usually recommended constitutional autonomy for all state universities.

In 1976 Gove cooperated with Floyd to update his bibliographic essay on state politics and education. They reported that the status of research on state politics in higher education had moved above the most rudimentary level. This move was as a result of studies conducted and then reported

at the 1972 Midwest Political Science Conference entitled "The Politics of Public Higher Education: A Comparative Analysis." The states of Illinois, Nebraska, and Wisconsin were analyzed in terms of the political roles of state universities, the political actors involved, state coordinating agencies, and the political resources of higher education. Gove and Floyd, however, stated that the papers offered little basis for theory or generalization.

Gove and Floyd believed that too little attention has been given to the relationship of the higher education system and politics in the state. Many treatments are still limited to what the state university has done or should do.

Gove and Floyd found that statewide coordination has recently been treated as a proper state role for the good of the state and higher education. Authors mention their concern that higher education is just another department of state government and that the leveling effect on the distinctive characteristics of major state universities may be negative. Gove found that higher education played a significant role in constitutional conventions surrounding issues of autonomy for universities, constitutional status for state boards of higher education, and the composition and functions of governing boards of universities. Attitudes of state legislators is the most thoroughly studied aspect of

the area. Some attention has been given to the politics of budgeting. The topic of trustees and state relations has only been touched by the researchers. The subject of faculty and politics has been explored. Generally the findings indicate that faculty members are ineffective political actors (Gove and Floyd, 1976).

This review of the scholarly literature on state educational politics and the legislative system is organized around the systems approach to studying the Legislature. In a subsequent chapter the extent to which findings of this study are consistent with propositions selected from this review of the scholarly literature will be considered.

Chapter III will focus on the formal aspects of Florida government. It includes the organization of the legislative, executive, and judicial branches and the structure of post-secondary education.

## CHAPTER III

### THE FORMAL ORGANIZATION OF FLORIDA GOVERNMENT AND PUBLIC POSTSECONDARY EDUCATION

This chapter describes the organization of Florida government and public postsecondary education. It includes a description of the three branches of government--the Legislative, the Judicial, and the Executive. It concludes with a description of the governing and coordinating structure of postsecondary education.

#### An Overview of the Branches of Government

In Florida, there are three branches of government, as is traditional in America. The Florida Constitution provides for a separation of powers and divides the governmental structure into three separate and independent branches. Most of the information on the three branches of government as related in this chapter was obtained from Pellicer's study (1973) and from a publication entitled The Florida Senate (State of Florida, 1978).

The organization of the three branches of government sets up a system of checks and balances to insure that all three branches function properly and do not seize an undue amount of authority. The Legislative Branch makes laws and determines public policy. The Executive Branch, made up of the governor and the Cabinet, insures that those laws are

enforced and that the public policy is carried out. The Judicial Branch interprets the law and applies the State Constitution. The Legislature may delegate limited rule-making power to some executive agencies and certain limited administrative disputes may be decided by executive agencies rather than the Judicial Branch when authorized by law.

### The Legislative Branch

Florida's Legislature is bicameral, meaning that it is composed of two houses, the Senate and the House of Representatives. The State Constitution requires that members of the Legislature be elected at a general election in November of even-numbered years. As required by the 1968 State Constitution, the 1972 legislative session apportioned the Legislature into 40 Senate districts and 120 House districts. Legislators are paid \$12,000 a year and travel expenses.

There are three different types of legislative sessions--the organization session, the regular session, and special sessions. The organization session is held two weeks after each general election in order to organize and formally elect officers who have been designated previously. No legislation is considered during the organization session.

Regular sessions begin on the first Tuesday after the first Monday in April in odd-numbered years and continue for 60 consecutive days. The Legislature may change its convening

date in even-numbered years. Special sessions may be called by the governor or by joint proclamation of the president of the Senate and the speaker of the House. The call for a special session outlines the business to be considered and other matters may not be taken up during that special session unless two-thirds of the members of each house consent. An extra session may be called if three-fifths of the members of both houses agree. In 1980 the regular session began on April 8. It should have ended on June 6; however, it was extended until late in the evening on Saturday, June 7. Unable to complete all of its business, the 1980 Legislature was called into a special session which began on June 9 and ended on June 11.

The president of the Senate and the speaker of the House are the leaders of the Legislature and preside over the sessions. In their absence the president pro tempore and the speaker pro tempore preside. Officers are elected by the individual houses and serve for two-year terms. During the 1979-1980 biennium the president of the Senate was Senator Phil Lewis from West Palm Beach and the speaker of the House was Representative Hyatt Brown from Daytona Beach. The president pro tempore was Senator Dan Scarborough from Jacksonville and the speaker pro tempore was Representative Richard Hodes. The secretary of the Senate and clerk



of the House are elected by each house from outside its own membership. The secretary of the Senate since 1973 has been Joe Brown. Allen Morris has been clerk of the House of Representatives since 1966.

The Florida Legislature works through the committee system. It provides a process to study, research and plan solutions to problems requiring legislation. Senate and House rules adopted during the organization session for the next two years provide for certain standing committees, special or select committees and subcommittees. The speaker of the House and the president of the Senate appoint the chairpersons and the members of all committees.

Committee study enables more careful consideration of legislation than would be possible only in debate on the floor. Committee members depend heavily on the support of year-round trained committee staff. Bills are assigned (given a reference) by the Rules Committee to one or more committees for study. Committee hearings may be held where sponsoring legislators, lobbyists, governmental agency employees, or the general public may testify on a bill. After consideration, the committee votes to recommend the bill favorably, unfavorably, or with amendments to be taken up when the bill is debated on the floor.

Conference committees are appointed when the Senate and the House are unable to agree on the final content of a bill. A conference committee composed of members of both houses attempts to resolve the differences between the two versions of the bill. A conference committee bill must be approved as is by both houses and cannot be later amended on the floor of either house.

Joint committees are composed of members from each house. Examples are the Joint Legislative Management Committee and the Legislative Auditing Committee. Interim committees meet between sessions and select committees make recommendations on special or unique problems.

Journals and calendars are published by the secretary of the Senate and the clerk of the House on a daily basis during the legislative session. Journals and calendars are given to legislators each morning before they convene and are available to the public. The journals give details of the proceedings on the floor and committee reports. The calendar, of special interest to persons following specific legislation, is a schedule of the business to be taken up that day at committee meetings and on the floor. There are five forms of legislation--bills, resolutions, concurrent resolutions, joint resolutions, and memorials. A bill which is a proposed law requires a majority vote to pass. It may be a general bill which would have a general impact within

the state or a local bill which would affect only a particular locality named in the bill. A resolution expresses the opinion of one house; a concurrent resolution expresses the opinion of both houses. The purpose of a joint resolution is to amend the State Constitution, to apportion the Legislature, to set the effective date of a vetoed bill when the veto is overridden, or to recess for more than 72 hours. A memorial is a petition addressed to the President of the United States, the Congress, or some official agency of the federal government requesting action or expressing the Legislature's collective viewpoint.

The process of a bill's becoming law is complex. Bills may be introduced by one or more members of the Legislature. When a bill has been drafted it is delivered to the secretary of the Senate or the clerk of the House and given a number. Before a bill is referred to committee it receives its first reading on the floor of the chamber. A first reading means that a bill is read by title only. If identical bills are introduced in both houses, they are called companion bills. This process allows simultaneous committee study in each house.

A bill is then referred to one or more committees. Each committee, after publishing notice in the calendar, can hold hearings on the bill. The committee can vote to recommend the bill favorably, unfavorably, or with amendments.

If the committee reports are favorable the bill is placed on the calendar for a second reading.

There are four committees in the Florida Legislature which regularly handle postsecondary education matters. In the House of Representatives there are the Higher Education Committee and the Appropriations Committee. The Higher Education Committee was first established in 1979 by House Speaker Hyatt Brown. Prior to that time the Education Committee handled both K-12 and postsecondary education issues. The Higher Education Committee is usually the first committee of reference for policy issues and substantive legislation. Budget matters contained in legislation other than the Appropriations Act are referred to this committee and to the Appropriations Committee, which is usually the last committee of reference. During the 1980 Session Dr. William Law was the staff director for the Higher Education Committee, which usually works through established subcommittees.

The House Appropriations Committee also works through established subcommittees. Subcommittee III handles education and transportation matters. The Appropriations Committee prepares the various budgets which make up the Appropriations Act. It also analyzes substantive legislation referred to the committee, particularly for fiscal impact. The subcommittee reports to the full committee, which also must take

action on the legislation or budget items. During the 1980 Session Dave Lycan acted as chief legislative analyst and Pat Barrett was the higher education budget analyst.

In the Senate there are two committees which regularly handle postsecondary education matters, the Education Committee and the Ways and Means Committee (changed to the Appropriations Committee in 1981). The Education Committee, which works as a full committee except in rare instances, handles K-12 and postsecondary education issues. Of the seven staff members, there is one legislative analyst who handles university issues, Barbara Cohen, and one legislative analyst who handles community college issues, Janie Franklin. The Senate Ways and Means Committee works through established subcommittees. Subcommittee B handles all education matters. Just as the House Appropriations Committee prepares budgets which make up the Appropriation Act and analyzes substantive legislation, so does the Senate Ways and Means Committee. William Corley is the senior budget analyst who works with university issues in the Ways and Means Committee. William Odum is the budget analyst who works with community college issues.

A bill is subject to amendment during its second reading. On its third reading a bill is read again by title only

unless one-third of the members present vote to have the bill read in full. It is only on the third reading that general debate occurs and a final vote is taken.

If the bill passes one house it is delivered to the other house, where it works its way up the same process. If the other house amends the bill it must then go back to the first house. If both houses do not agree on the bill, it may go to a conference committee. A conference committee is usually appointed to resolve the differences in the appropriations bill. One of the most important bills to be considered by the Legislature, the appropriations bill is, in effect, the state's budget, determining the amount of money available to various state agencies. If the bill is approved by both houses in the same form it then becomes an act and is enrolled as part of the official records by the secretary of the Senate and the clerk of the House.

An act becomes a law when it is signed by the governor or allowed to become law without his signature. The governor has 10 days from the time the bill arrives on his desk to consider signing or vetoing. If the governor decides to veto the bill he must return it with his written objections to the house from which the bill originated. A veto can be overridden by a two-thirds vote of the members of each house.

### The Judicial Branch

According to The Florida Senate (State of Florida, 1978), Florida's Judicial Branch is one of the most progressive court systems in the nation. The system was completely restructured in a 1972 constitutional revision which created a series of circuit and county courts to conduct trials. The State Supreme Court is the highest court in the Florida system, the final state court of appeal. Its functions include the determination of the constitutionality of statutes, issuing advisory opinions to the governor, and administrative responsibilities over all lower courts. The seven State Supreme Court justices are appointed by the Governor and retained or rejected by popular vote every six years.

The lower courts include the district courts of appeal, circuit courts, and the county courts. The district courts of appeal are the intermediate appellate courts to which most appeals must go. Three or more judges appointed by the governor sit on each of the four district courts located in Tallahassee, Lakeland, West Palm Beach, and Miami. These judges are retained or rejected by popular vote every six years. Circuit courts, located in each of Florida's 20 judicial circuits, have elected judges with six-year terms. The circuit courts hear limited appeals from county courts and handle trials which include felony crimes, probate,

juvenile, and competency matters. County courts, located in each of Florida's 67 counties, have judges elected to four-year terms. The functions of county courts include criminal misdemeanor trials and some civil cases, issuing warrants of arrest, initiating proceedings in all criminal cases, and other specified functions.

#### The Executive Branch

The Executive Branch, as required by the Florida Constitution, insures that Florida laws are enforced and public policy is carried out. The State Constitution gives the greatest executive authority to the governor, who is assisted by a lieutenant governor to be elected in a joint candidacy and by a Cabinet composed of an attorney general, a commissioner of agriculture, a commissioner of education, a comptroller, a secretary of state, and a treasurer. All of these officers are elected to four-year terms in November of nonpresidential election years. The governor may succeed himself in office unless he has served more than six years in two consecutive terms. Cabinet members may serve an unlimited number of terms. The salary of the governor is \$52,500 per year while the salaries of the lieutenant governor and cabinet officers are \$42,000 per year. In addition to his duties as chief executive officer of the state, the governor also has certain appointive, suspension, and legis-



lative duties. The governor appoints many state and county officers and fills vacancies in elective offices. He may also suspend officers for certain causes. Appointments and suspensions may require the consent of the Senate. The legislative duties include calling the Legislature into special session, making a State of the State Address at the beginning of each regular session, and approving, vetoing or allowing to become law without signature all bills.

Under the State Constitution there can be no more than 25 departments in the Executive Branch exclusive of the departments established in that document. The governor appoints the secretaries of seven departments which make up the "little cabinet." The governor also appoints the members of boards that head three other departments. Members of the Cabinet comprise the membership of the State Board of Education, which supervises the Department of Education.

Florida's unique cabinet system creates a situation in which executive power is shared among the members of the Cabinet, who are all independently elected officials. Meeting biweekly, the Cabinet serves as the state's board of directors, establishing policy and administering the affairs of the Executive Branch. In addition to these duties, each cabinet member serves other independent functions and heads a division of state government. The commissioner of education

supervises the state's public education system and is the chief executive officer of the Department of Education.

### The Structure of Postsecondary Education

The State Board of Education is the chief policymaking body of public education in Florida. It has the general powers to determine, adopt, or prescribe such policies, rules, regulations, or standards as are required by law or as it may find necessary for the improvement of the state system of public education, including K-12 and postsecondary.

Each of the 28 community colleges is governed by a board of trustees appointed by the Governor. According to the Florida statutes, these boards are vested with the responsibility to operate their respective community colleges with such authority as may be needed for the proper operation thereof in accordance with regulations of the state board. To coordinate the 28 community colleges there was established a State Community College Coordinating Board of the Department of Education with the necessary powers to exercise responsibility for statewide leadership in overseeing and coordinating the individually governed public community colleges. The statutes creating the State Community College Coordinating Board did not change the existing division of responsibilities between the state agencies and local boards of trustees, and maximum local autonomy in governance and operation of individual

community colleges was continued. The coordinating board is subject at all times to the overall supervision of the State Board of Education.

The governing board for the nine state universities is the Board of Regents. The Regents are primarily responsible for adopting systemwide rules and policies; planning for future needs of the state university system; planning the programmatic, financial, and physical aspects of research, instructional and service programs at the universities; coordinating development among the universities; and monitoring the fiscal performance of the universities.

Executive Order No. 80-67 created the Postsecondary Education Commission to coordinate all sectors of public and independent postsecondary education. According to that executive order, the commission has the following responsibility: to prepare and submit to the State Board of Education a master plan for postsecondary education. The plan should include consideration of the promotion of quality, fundamental education goals, programmatic access, need for remedial education, regional and state economic development, demographic patterns, student demands for programs, needs of particular subgroups of the population, implementation of innovative educational techniques and technology, and the requirements of the labor market. The capacity of existing programs in

public and independent institutions to respond to identified needs should be evaluated and a plan developed to respond efficiently to unmet needs.

The nine universities, four of which are upper division, served 123,536 individuals in the fall term of 1979. The education and general programs served 113,955 individuals, the Institute of Food and Agricultural Sciences at the University of Florida served 1,651, the Health Center at the University of Florida served 2,097, the Veterinary Medicine School at the University of Florida served 275, and the Medical Center at the University of South Florida served 557. The 28 community colleges in Florida served 200,608 individuals in the fall term of 1979. The advanced and professional or college parallel programs served 109,938. The occupational program served 55,283. Other programs served 35,387 individuals.

A chronology of events important to the passage of House Bill 7-D is included in the next chapter. In addition, Chapter IV contains summaries of House Bill 7-D, other bills related to it, and other pertinent information.

## CHAPTER IV

### A CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS AND OTHER INFORMATION PERTINENT TO THE OMNIBUS BILL

This chapter includes a summary of House Bill 7-D itself, a chronology of events related to the passage of the Bill, a summary of the recommendations of the Joint Legislative and Executive Commission on Postsecondary Education, a summary of the governor's recommendations on postsecondary education to the 1980 Florida Legislature, summaries of other Senate and House bills for which House Bill 7-D was a substitute, and a summary of the governor's veto message. The information presented in this chapter was obtained from a variety of sources, including unpublished documents obtained from the Florida Senate, the Florida House of Representatives, the Governor's Office, the Department of Education's clipping service (State of Florida, Department of Education, a, 1980), the 1980 Florida Legislative Summaries (State University System of Florida, 1980), and Regular Session Legislative Reports (State of Florida, Department of Education, b, 1980).

#### Summary of House Bill 7-D

As enrolled and engrossed, House Bill 7-D was 72 pages long. The title of the bill itself was a full five pages long. Sixteen of the more important provisions of the bill follow:

State Board of Education

The responsibilities of the State Board of Education in relation to the State University System were delineated.

They included responsibility to:

- Approve, conditionally approve, or disapprove rules and policies submitted by the Board of Regents.
- Adopt rules for the coordination, implementation, and planning of a master plan.

The State Board was designated the statewide coordinating and planning agency for postsecondary education with the following responsibilities:

- To require submission of data from the institutions and governing boards.
- To require submission of plans from the governing boards.
- To adopt a five-year state plan considering facilities, programs, budget priorities, student charges, financial aid, access and admissions, private institution programs, and the differentiation of functions in the public system.
- To update the state plan annually.
- To participate in the budget processes as requested.

- To advise the Legislature and the governor on the need for new locations or campuses.
- To review program proposals and make recommendations.
- To develop plans for encouragement of innovative educational programs.
- To develop criteria to evaluate education effectiveness.
- To maintain and update an offcampus program inventory.
- To act as an information clearinghouse.
- To establish criteria for state support of programs.
- To consider the relationship between academic and occupational and vocational education programs.
- To establish procedures to determine if programs are consistent with the master plans.
- To direct the termination of programs.
- To contract with independent institutions for programs and facilities.

The Legislature expressed in this bill the intent that "existing programs in accredited public or independent institutions of postsecondary education that are capable of providing services to meet the public need should not be duplicated."

In relation to specific authority over the community college system, the state board was given the authority to assign responsibilities to the State Community College Coordinating Board or the Commissioner of Education.

The state board was also given the authority to establish a branch of an existing university in Broward County.

#### Board of Regents

The Board of Regents was expanded to include 13 members, one of whom would be the commissioner of education. The terms of office for regents was six, instead of nine, years. The restriction on county of residence for regents was changed to allow for two regents to come from one county if the population was in excess of 900,000. The commissioner of education and the student member were not considered within this limitation.

The responsibilities of the board were amended so that:

- A separate tuition and fee schedule for nonresident foreign students was to be developed.
- The master plan for the State University System was to be submitted to the State Board of Education through the newly created Postsecondary Education Coordinating Commission.
- The authority to contract with independent institutions for programs was given to the State Board of Education.



- The university boards of trustees were advisory to the Board of Regents, which may nominate candidates for the board of trustees.
- A study was to be conducted in conjunction with the Department of Insurance on health and accident insurance offered to students in the State University System.
- A feasibility study was to be conducted on the creation of a teaching hospital at the University of South Florida.
- The Community Hospital Education Program was placed under the commissioner of education and the State Board of Education.
- The Medical Manpower Clearinghouse was placed under the State Board of Education instead of the regents.
- Rules submitted to the State Board of Education were to be conditionally approved by that body.
- Approval of building construction was to be contingent upon approval by the university president and the university student government association.
- A study was to be conducted regarding student activity and service fees collected from students in professional programs such as medicine and law.
- The existing fee structure was to be maintained unless changed by the Legislature.

Postsecondary Education Coordinating Commission

The Postsecondary Education Coordinating Commission was established within the Department of Education for the purpose of advising the State Board of Education in the area of public and private postsecondary education. The 13 members were to be appointed by the governor. The commission was to independently exercise the responsibilities assigned by law or delegated by the state board. The commission is to be "sunseted" in 1985.

The commission was to have the following responsibilities:

- Preparation of a master plan for postsecondary education for submission to the state board.
- Development of standards for remedial education.
- Contract with the approval of the state board.
- Recommendation of contracts with independent institutions to the state board.
- Assisting the state board in its responsibilities.
- Recommendation of rules for planning and coordination of programs to the state board.
- Recommendation for plans for lower level programs.
- Recommendation of modification of existing state board rules in the area of planning and coordination.

- Serving as the "1202" commission.

The commission was also given the responsibility to encourage and approve regional advisory educational consortia to assist in the planning and implementation of comprehensive, complementary, and cost-effective arrays of programs, activities and services. A staff of not more than five, to be headed by an executive director, was to assist the commission.

### Universities

Each university was to have a board of trustees which would be subordinate to and advise the Board of Regents and the university president. The board was to consist of nine members appointed by the governor, with the student government president sitting as an ex officio member. Terms of office were set at four years.

The board of trustees of each institution was to report annually the results of its program to eradicate salary discriminations based on sex or race. The university president was restricted to the reallocation of student activity and service fee funds to branch campuses or to a main campus from the branch campus.

The funding for the State University System was changed so that the limitation on the increase in salary rate resulting from new positions was not to exceed 25 percent of the

total allocation for quality improvement for the fiscal year 1979-80. In addition, preparation of budget requests was to consider costs associated with required faculty travel to more than one campus location.

#### Community Colleges

The appointment of the Community College Coordinating Board members was clarified so that persons were members of a board of trustees at the time of their appointment rather than at all times.

The Community College Coordinating Board was to be responsible for the adoption of rules, to be submitted to the State Board of Education for approval, conditional approval, or disapproval. The State Board of Education was given authority to adopt rules without a recommendation from the coordinating board with a provision for review and comment on such a rule by the coordinating board. State Board of Education rules would supersede coordinating board rules.

The responsibilities of the coordinating board were expanded to include the development and implementation of a master plan for community colleges, to be submitted to the Postsecondary Education Coordinating Commission for adoption by the State Board of Education. The definition of community colleges was expanded to specify that community colleges

would serve as the primary point of access to postsecondary education and have the primary responsibility for community service programs. Community colleges were also included in the provisions relating to county depositories.

The responsibilities of community college boards of trustees were expanded to include:

- Establishment of a policy for law enforcement operations.
- Evaluation of full-time employees; development of a professional development plan for faculty and other staff.
- Review of academic and career counseling programs.
- Cancellation of registration for students with fee accounts in arrears beyond a certain date.

Other changes relating to the community colleges included the provision that the commissioner, instead of the department, approve a proposal to negotiate a current loan. The bill also called for enrollment estimates to be conducted on February 15 as well as on December 15 and for the commissioner, instead of the Director of the Division of Community Colleges, to approve unencumbered fund balances over 10%.

#### Financial Aid

The eligibility requirements of the tuition voucher program were expanded to include those students who have

GEDs, are accelerated students, or who receive credit through college-level examination programs.

The Student Financial Assistance Commission was renamed as the "authority," which would operate under the Postsecondary Education Coordinating Commission as a board of trustees. Rules of the State Board of Education would govern the authority. The authority was given the authorization to issue revenue bonds to secure capital for the purchase of student loans with determination of fiscal sufficiency made by the State Board of Administration.

#### Graduate Students and Collective Bargaining

Graduate students employed by the university in certain capacities and undergraduate students who performed part-time work for the State University System were excluded from the definition of "public employee."

#### Merger

House Bill 7-D authorized the merger of the University of North Florida and the University of Florida, with each campus being developed with a specified mission. A merger steering council was created with an advisory committee on health education to implement the merger. The advisory committee on health education would make recommendations on the relationship of University Hospital in Jacksonville to the University of Florida's J. Hillis Miller Health Center.

The merger steering council would develop an implementation timetable by October 15, 1980, and a comprehensive set of implementation recommendations by February 1, 1981. The university presidents were to review and make recommendations on the implementation recommendations. A supplemental budget request was to be submitted by March 1, 1981. The Board of Regents would implement the recommendations, unless the Legislature disapproved or altered the plan, beginning on July 1, 1981.

The merger may have included a lower division in Jacksonville, inclusion of University Hospital in the health education programs of the State University System, graduate and professional education in Northeast Florida, joining of faculty efforts to attract research funds for regional problems, and diversity in student support services and activities.

#### A Chronology of Events

This section contains a chronology of events related to House Bill 7-D. It begins with a legislative committee meeting on March 10, 1980, and ends with the governor's veto on July 10, 1980.

March 10 - The House Higher Education Committee heard the report of the Joint Legislative and Executive Commission on Postsecondary Education.

March 31 - The House Higher Education Committee discussed a proposal that would create a Postsecondary Education Coordinating Council (PECC).

April 2 - At a press conference Governor Graham presented his recommendations on postsecondary education to the 1980 Legislature.

April 4 - Extensive discussions on mergers of universities began. Matters discussed included a merger of the University of Florida (UF) with Florida International University (FIU), Florida Atlantic University (FAU), the University of North Florida (UNF), and the University of Central Florida (UCF), as well as a merger between Florida State University (FSU) and the University of West Florida (UWF).

April 8 - The 1980 Legislature opened with the governor's State of the State Address. During the first week of the session there were numerous legislative committee meetings and no action on the chamber floors which concerned postsecondary education. Opposition to mergers relating to any South Florida universities solidified and was reported in the press. The Miami Herald, The Florida Alligator, FAU President Robert Creech, the University of North Florida faculty, the Greater Boca Raton Chamber of Commerce, and the Broward and Dade Legislative Delegations spoke against merger. Senate President Phil Lewis and Representatives Sam



Bell, Sid Martin, and Jon Mills all endorsed merger, as did Urban Coalition President Representative William Sadowski.

April 14 to April 18 - Most of the action was in the House Higher Education Committee and its subcommittee meetings. Bills which would later be tacked onto the omnibus bill were introduced and considered.

April 16 - The Urban Education Coalition met to discuss postsecondary education in South Florida. The coalition reached a consensus in favor of the addition of a lower division at Florida International University and in favor of Florida Atlantic University offering programs in North Broward and South Palm Beach counties.

April 21 to 25 - Little overt action in the Legislature was seen on postsecondary education matters.

April 21 to 25 - The Senate Education Committee staff worked on drafts for three separate bills on higher education: Senate Bill 986 by Senator McKay, Senate Bill 1276 by Senators Peterson, Maxwell, Gordon, and Hair, and Senate Bill 1275 by Senator Neal. Senate Bill 986 was filed and referred to the Senate Education and Ways and Means committees. See pages 89-95 for summaries of these bills.

April 30 - The House Higher Education Committee discussed Proposed Committee Bill 1 which abolished the Board of Regents and the State Community College Coordinating Board

while creating the Postsecondary Education Coordinating Council.

May 5 to 9 - Senate Bill 1276 by Senators Peterson, Gordon, Maxwell, Hair, and Poole was filed and referred to the Education and Ways and Means committees. In the Senate Education Committee meeting, Dr. Charles Reed, the Governor's Educational Policy Unit coordinator, called for support of Senate Bill 986. Commissioner Ralph Turlington spoke in support of a strong and intact Board of Regents and against Senate Bill 1276. Senate Bill 1275 by Senator Neal was filed and referred to the Senate Education and Ways and Means committees.

Uncertainty about revenues developed because of impending cuts in revenue sharing funds by the federal government and recently released results of a State Revenue Estimating Conference showing that revenues were down in April, endangering the surplus of state dollars expected.

May 5 - The House Higher Education Committee passed an amendment providing for university salary increases. The amendment also provided for competitive marketplace adjustments by rank and discipline category to assure that each salary was at least at the 85th percentile of the Oklahoma State University 1979-1980 salary survey. The \$10,000,000 in faculty salary increases involved would be contingent on

the bill becoming law. The Senate took a position in favor of a \$7,000,000 increase in faculty salaries.

May 12 to 16 - House and Senate Education committees concluded work on their versions of postsecondary reorganization. There was a warning of a gubernatorial veto of any bill which would eliminate the Board of Regents.

The Senate Education Committee passed Committee Substitute for Senate Bill 986. It was sent to the Senate Ways and Means Committee.

The House Higher Education Committee passed House Bill AAAA (preliminary to House Bills 1769 and 7-D). It was sent to the House Governmental Operations Committee.

The Senate Ways and Means Subcommittee on Education voted a \$100,000 study of the merger proposals to delay a decision as well as a \$75,000 appropriation for lower divisions at the University of North Florida, University of West Florida, and Florida International University.

May 15 - Governor Graham met with The Florida Times Union Editorial Board and threatened to veto any bill which would abolish the regents. He was favorable towards an FIU/FAU merger, but wanted the UNF/UF merger to receive more study.

The Jacksonville Chamber of Commerce endorsed the merger of the University of Florida and the University of North Florida.

May 19 to 23 - Committee Substitute for Senate Bill 986 was withdrawn from the Ways and Means Committee by a motion from Senator Gordon and placed on the calendar.

May 20 - House Bill 1769 was introduced and referred to the Governmental Operations and Appropriations Committees. See Page 97 for a summary of this bill. A committee substitute was reported favorably out of the Governmental Operations Committee.

May 21 - The House Appropriations Committee reported favorably on the Committee Substitute for House Bill 1769 and placed the bill on the calendar.

May 22 - Committee Substitute for House Bill 1769 received its first and second readings on the floor of the House. Amendments were adopted. It then received its third reading and passed as amended with 72 yeas and 36 nays.

May 25 - A St. Petersburg Times editorial called the 1980 Legislature a disaster, the worst since reapportionment. The editorial cited lack of concern by the Legislature about the riots in Miami which caused the deaths of 15 persons.

May 26 to May 30 - Two conference committees were appointed to deal with the unresolved issues of appropriations, capital outlay, and property assessments. Appointments to the Appropriations and Capital Outlay Conference committees were Senators Gordon (Chairperson), Johnston, W. D. Childers,

Vogt, Scott, Peterson, Maxwell, and Hair with Senator Tobiason as alternate and Representatives Morgan, Bell, Easley, Fred Jones, Hodes, Gallagher, Mann, and Robinson with Representatives Batchelor, Pajcic, Sadowski, and Kutun as alternates. Senator Peterson and Representative Hodes were appointed as chairmen of the subcommittee dealing with education. A conference committee on the TRIM Bill included Senators Maxwell (Chairperson), Jenne, Myers, Peterson, and Gordon with Senator Tobiason as alternate and Representatives Pajcic, Haben, Margolis, Ogden and Padgett with Representative Eckhart as alternate. A summary of the TRIM Bill appears on page 103.

May 27 - House Bill 1769 was received in the Senate and referred to the Education and Ways and Means committees.

May 31 - The Appropriations and TRIM Conference committees met.

June 3 - House Bill 1769 was placed on the Senate Special Order Calendar and passed as amended with 32 yeas and 4 nays.

The Florida Times Union reported compromises related to the higher education bill. Representative Bell and Senator Lewis were said to have settled on a compromise substituting a FAU/UNF merger for the House proposal for a FIU/FAU merger. Bell was reported to have said that he would compromise on

the abolition of the Board of Regents if the Senate agreed to increase faculty salaries by \$10,000,000. It was reported that an agreement had been reached on the reconstitution of the Board of Regents, but no agreement was in sight on the issue of the postsecondary coordinating council and local boards of trustees. It was reported that the governor threatened to veto the \$10,000,000 in faculty salary increases unless the Legislature passed a gasoline tax increase.

The Miami Herald reported that House leaders accused the governor of threatening to veto almost everything, including transportation, transportation appropriations without a gasoline tax increase, faculty salary increases without increases in salaries for state workers, items in the appropriations bill, and any legislation affecting the Board of Regents.

June 4 - The House refused to concur with the Senate version of House Bill 1769. The House requested the Senate to recede and appointed a conference committee with Representatives Burnsed, Bell, Morgan, Lippman, Dennis Jones and alternates Representatives Sadowski and Pajcic. The Senate refused to recede and appointed a conference committee with Senators McKay, Gordon, Johnston, Jenne, Maxwell and alternates Senators Hair and Frank.

The Higher Education Conference Committee neared agreement that the Board of Regents would survive and be reconstituted. Senator McKay stated that the FIU/FAU merger was out of the question while the extent of powers of the proposed local boards of trustees remained a compromise issue. No agreement was reached on mergers, government structure, or lower divisions.

June 6 - The 1980 legislative session was scheduled to adjourn; however, there were a number of unresolved issues so the session was extended.

June 7 - In extended session the conference committee report on higher education was received and adopted by the House as amended with 83 yeas and 29 nays. In the Senate, the conference committee report died in messages. No agreement was reached on mergers, government structure, or lower divisions.

Governor Graham, Senators Lewis and Barron and Representatives Brown and Bell met in the governor's office around 11:30 p.m. Senator Barron reportedly chastised Senator Lewis and Representative Brown while a physical confrontation was narrowly avoided.

June 9 - In special session the Senate and House met in their chambers only briefly as the leaders steered measures to committees for consideration. House Bill 7-D (substituted

for 1769) was introduced and referred to the House Appropriations Committee, where it was recorded favorably with amendments and placed on the calendar. After its second reading further amendments were adopted by the House. After its third reading the bill was passed as amended with 87 yeas and 16 nays.

The Senate Education Committee purged the UNF/UF merger from the bill.

Governor Graham announced that he had reached Senator McKay in North Carolina, where Senator McKay was vacationing after his resignation from the Florida Senate due to his campaign for the U.S. Senate. McKay agreed to return to the special session on the governor's request and refusal of his resignation.

June 10 - House Bill 7-D was reconsidered by the House. After amendments were adopted, the bill was passed with 91 yeas and 21 nays.

In the Senate, House Bill 7-D was received and placed on the calendar, then passed as amended with 30 yeas and 10 nays. An amendment was then reconsidered by the Senate and then withdrawn as the bill passed as amended with 30 yeas and 9 nays.

June 11 - The House concurred with the Senate and passed House Bill 7-D as further amended with 87 yeas and 17



nays. The bill was then reconsidered with an amendment to the Senate amendment. The House then concurred in the Senate amendment as amended with 92 yeas and 22 nays.

The Senate then concurred and passed the bill as further amended with 32 yeas and 6 nays. The Senate approved the bill with merger included.

The bill was ordered engrossed and then was enrolled.

June 12 to July 9 - Various groups lobbied the Governor to sign or veto the bill. Those recommending veto included The Tampa Tribune, The Orlando Sentinel, The St. Petersburg Times, The Miami Herald, Attorney General Jim Smith, student leaders of the Florida Student Association, University of North Florida President Tom Carpenter, the University of South Florida faculty, Chancellor E.T. York, Regents Terrell Sessums, James Gardner, Marshall Criser, Murray Dubbin and Betty Staten, and The Sarasota Herald Tribune. Those groups urging the Governor to sign the legislation included The Florida Times Union, Commissioner Turlington, the State Community College Coordinating Board, University of South Florida President John Lott Brown, University of Florida President Robert Marston, United Faculty of Florida, Manning Dauer, and Board of Regents Chairman Jack McGriff as well as former Governor LeRoy Collins and the Jacksonville Jaycees.

June 25 - The bill was signed by the officers of both houses and presented to the governor.

July 10 - The bill was vetoed by the governor.

Summary of Joint Commission Recommendations

The Joint Legislative and Executive Commission on Postsecondary Education was established by the 1979 Florida Legislature in House Bill 1689. The Legislature designated improvement of the quality and efficiency of postsecondary education as the overall objective of the commission. It directed the commission and its consultants to address in their study the following areas:

1. Governance.
2. Organization, including the position of the chancellor in relation to the Board of Regents and the several presidents in the State University System.
3. Facilities.
4. Program review and program approval.
5. Coordination of programs in institutions.
6. Enrollment patterns and enrollment projection techniques.
7. Current funding methods and recommended alternative methods of funding and allocating resources.
8. The relationship of student fees to the total cost of postsecondary education.

9. Management information systems.
10. The role of the independent sector.
11. The role of postsecondary education in assisting Florida's economic development.
12. The current level of quality in Florida's post-secondary institutions and the ways in which the current system may be enhanced in a cost-effective manner.

William Reece Smith was appointed chairperson of the commission and Beverly Burnsed, vice chairperson. Senators appointed included Senators Gordon, Hair, McKay, Maxwell, and Peterson. House members appointed included Representatives Bell, Dennis Jones, Morgan, and Sadowski. Others appointed included former Governor LeRoy Collins, Preston Haskell, Regent Marshall Harris, and Commissioner Ralph Turlington. Dr. William Shade from the Office of the Governor was appointed staff director to the commission. On March 1, 1980, the commission issued its recommendations (State of Florida, 1980, Report and Recommendations). They were:

#### Recommendations on Quality Improvement

1. Postsecondary education needs should be defined and evaluated on periodic basis.
2. The capacity of existing programs to respond to changing needs should be evaluated, including the availability of resources at independent institutions.

3. Standards of quality must be developed for each educational program.
4. Decisions on the use of resources should be made at the level closest to the student.
5. Selection of courses by the student should reflect the ability and desires of the student.

#### Recommendations on Postsecondary Education Planning

1. The development of a master plan should specify goals and objectives for all sectors, consider independent institutions, put primary emphasis on the promotion of quality, and give attention to programmatic access, needs for remedial education, regional and state economic development, demographic patterns, student demand for programs, needs of particular subgroups of the population, implementation of innovative educational techniques and technology, and requirements of the labor market. It should be reviewed every five years.
2. Management information systems of different sectors should be compatible.

#### Recommendations on Governance

1. A lay master planning board should be created to develop a master plan; to review and finally approve proposals for new programs; to review and

terminate programs to determine compliance with master plan; to review and make recommendations to the governor and Legislature concerning budget requests for programs to determine compliance with master plan (governing boards also have program approval and termination authority); to serve as the "1202" Commission; and to appoint the Articulation Coordinating Committee. It should be comprised of 10 members and the Commissioner.

2. The Board of Regents should be expanded from 10 to 13 members.
3. The terms of members of the Board of Regents should be six years.

#### Recommendations on Funding

1. A program-based budget formula should be developed with basic funding and enhancement funding.
2. The funding formula should recognize differences in emerging and established institutions.
3. The state should offset the erosion of real dollar support per F.T.E. student.
4. Financial commitment from the state should not be lowered if enrollment declines.
5. Base faculty salaries should be raised to a nationally competitive level.

6. Student fees should be maintained at a reasonable level.
7. Financial assistance should be continued.
8. Graduate student stipends should be increased.
9. Graduate fellowships should be increased to allow students mobility.
10. The tuition voucher program should be continued and reviewed biennially.
11. Contractual relationships with independent institution should be continued.
12. The establishment of consortia should be encouraged.
13. Resources should be concentrated on instruction for credit.
14. Universities should be allowed to carry over funds for capital outlay.
15. A quality improvement trust fund from a new tax source should be established.
16. Appropriation support for challenge grants should be continued.

#### Recommendations on Role and Scope

1. Community colleges should serve as the primary point of access.
2. Community colleges should continue primary, though not exclusive, responsibility for community service

activities. All community service programs should be coordinated.

3. Feasibility studies on the mergers of UF with UNF and FIU with FAU should be conducted.
4. Community colleges and universities should operate on a common calendar.

#### Special Recommendations for Quality and Efficiency

1. Remedial education should be totally in the K-12 system by 1990. In the short run it also should be in vocational-technical centers, community colleges and state universities. Remedial education will require substantial resources and coordination. Miami-Dade Community College programs should be studied for statewide applicability.
2. Students entering the third year of college should be tested or evaluated to assure basic skills necessary for upper level work.
3. The content and structure of the core of the general education curriculum of the first two years of college should be examined.
4. Academic and career counseling should be emphasized.
5. Student-faculty ratios should be reduced.
6. Incentives should be offered to superior students to attend a state institution.

7. Faculty should be provided more educational enrichment benefits.
8. A professional development plan for faculty should be adopted.
9. Faculty should be involved in advising on institutional governance and policy, program and planning, and curriculum.
10. Business leadership should be solicited to advise voluntarily on techniques of business management.
11. The State Constitution be amended to eliminate authority of the governor and Cabinet to act as State Board of Education.
12. The State Constitution and statutory law should be amended to implement these recommendations.

Included in the report by the Joint Commission was a statement of a dissenting opinion by Senators Jack Gordon, Clark Maxwell, Curtis Peterson, and Mattox Hair. In that opinion the senators opposed the commission's recommendation calling for the creation of a new Postsecondary Education Coordinating Council and for a constitutional amendment to eliminate the authority of the governor and Cabinet to act as the State Board of Education. They stated that they agreed with Governor Graham's position that the State Board



of Education could be capable of fulfilling its planning, budgeting, and coordinating responsibilities.

The Governor's 1980 Legislative Program on Education

In a press conference on April 2, 1980, Governor Graham announced his legislative program on education. Some of his key recommendations follow:

1. The State Board of Education should be given a two-year trial period to provide the executive leadership necessary to support the improvement of educational quality.
2. The Florida Postsecondary Education "1202" Commission created by Congress in 1972 should be restructured to assist the State Board of Education. An executive order would restructure and broaden the scope of the responsibilities of the commission. The following functions would be assigned to the commission:
  - a. To prepare the program-budget process for implementation by the State Board of Education.
  - b. To collect appropriate information, develop a master plan for postsecondary education, and submit the plan to the State Board of Education for adoption by rule.

- c. To recommend postsecondary program approval and elimination actions, consistent with the master plan, to the State Board of Education.
  - d. To advise the State Board of Education on the compliance of legislative request budgets with the master plan.
  - e. To recommend contracts with independent institutions to the State Board of Education.
3. The following changes in authority:
- a. The State Board of Education should be given responsibility for final approvals and requests for new public postsecondary programs and to terminate existing programs.
  - b. Authority for contracting with educational institutions outside the state system should be transferred from the Board of Regents to the State Board of Education.
  - c. The number of regents should be increased to 13 and the term of office for all but the student regents be reduced to six years.

The governor opened the 1980 Session of the Florida Legislature with his State of the State Address. In it (State University System of Florida, 1980), he commented on higher education:

To continue to attract the kind of business we want it will be necessary to provide an educational system that is comparable to the best in the country. Our commitment made last year for improving the quality of our University System provides \$24,000,000 and will move us in that direction. We must have a university system that will attract top scholars and students from all over the world. (p.1)

Summaries of Other Bills For Which House Bill 7-D  
Became A Substitute

Early in the 1980 Session the Senate Education Committee considered three separate postsecondary reorganization bills, Senate Bill 986, Senate Bill 1275, and Senate Bill 1276. The Committee Substitute for Senate Bill 986, which reflected the governor's position, was passed by the Senate Education Committee. It never came to the floor of the Senate. At the same time the House Higher Education Committee was drafting its Proposed Committee Bill which later was filed as House Bill 1769 and passed on the floor. Senate Bill 5-D and House Bill 7-D were drafted during the special session and contained many of the same provisions as House Bill 1769 as well as some important differences.

The following section includes summaries of all the bills listed in the paragraph above. It also includes a comparison of the differences among the bills.

#### Senate Bill 986

Senate Bill 986 by Senator McKay reflected the Governor's position. Proposed changes included the following provisions:

- Expanding the size of the Board of Regents from 10 to 13 and reducing the term of its members from nine to six years, with the exception of the term of a student member.
- Selection of two members from the same congressional district, rather than from the same county, was prohibited.
- The State Board of Education would be the final authority for approval and determination of public post-secondary programs.
- The power of the Board of Regents to contract with accredited independent institutions would be transferred to the State Board of Education.

#### Senate Bill 1276

Senate Bill 1276 by Senators Peterson, Maxwell, Gordon, and Hair was more similar to the Proposed Committee Bill in the House. Senate Bill 1276 had the following provisions:

- Creation of a Division of Higher Education resulting from a merging of the Division of Universities and the Division of Community Colleges.

- Provision for higher education responsibilities of the State Board of Education and the commissioner of education through transfer of present powers, duties, and responsibilities of the Board of Regents to the commissioner or the state board.

- Elimination of rulemaking authority of the Board of Regents and the Community College Coordinating Board, reducing each to bodies advisory to the Commissioner of Education.

- Creation of a board of trustees for each of the state universities.

#### Senate Bill 1275

Senate Bill 1275 by Senator Neal was another bill considered by the Senate Education Committee. The provisions of this bill included reconstitution of the existing Postsecondary Education Commission, providing for term of service; for appointment of members by the State Board of Education; for powers, duties and additional responsibilities; for compliance with federal rules and regulations; and for transferral of federal funds from the existing commission to the reconstituted Commission.

In general, the responsibilities of the reconstituted Postsecondary Education Commission would include the responsibilities of the existing commission in addition to the

development of a master plan for postsecondary education and advising the State Board of Education on the conformity of legislative budget requests with the plan.

To insure consistency with the master plan, recommendations made by the commission to the State Board of Education would include:

- Approval of contracts with independent institutions.
- Program approval and termination.
- Standards by which the quality of programs may be evaluated.

The bill gave the State Board of Education authority to amend proposed rules of the Board of Regents.

Committee Substitute for Senate Bill 986

The Committee Substitute for Senate Bill 986 by Senator McKay and others included most of the provisions of Senate Bill 986 and some of those in Senate Bill 1276. It was passed by the Senate Education Committee and included the following provisions:

- Expanded the membership of the Board of Regents from 10 to 13 and reduced the terms of its members from nine to six years with the exception of the term of the student members. Prohibited the selection of two members from the same congressional district rather than from the same county.

- Repealed the power of the Board of Regents to contract with accredited institutions in Florida.

- Provided the State Board of Education with the authority to contract with independent postsecondary institutions and final authority for approval and termination of public postsecondary programs.

- Provided for joint responsibility by the commissioner of education and the Board of Regents for cost estimating and expenditures.

- Eliminated legislative approval for construction of child care facilities.

- Authorized the State Board of Education to amend as well as approve all rules adopted by the Board of Regents. Designated the State Board of Education as the statewide coordinating and planning agency for postsecondary education.

- Established in statute the Florida Postsecondary Education Commission and the appointment and responsibilities of its members. Provided for the review and appeal of the commission in accordance with the Sundown Act.

- Encouraged regional advisory postsecondary educational consortia to plan for the educational needs of their respective regions, to include public and private postsecondary institutions.

- Required the State Board of Education and the Board of Regents to establish a four-year university in Dade County by adding a lower division to Florida International University.

- Required the Board of Regents to conduct a feasibility study for the creation of a teaching hospital at the University of South Florida.

- Created within the Board of Regents a Council on Equity in Athletics to assess available and required resources and to insure equitable funding for intercollegiate athletics.

- Amended § 20.15 and § 229.053(1), Florida Statutes, authorizing the commissioner of education and the State Board of Education to delegate certain powers, duties, responsibilities and functions to the Community College Coordinating Board.

- Provided that the Community College Coordinating Board shall recommend rules to the State Board of Education and shall consider amended rules.

- Required the nine Community College Coordinating Board members to be trustees at the time of their appointment.

- Provided for rules relating to funding of hospital expenses to be prescribed by the state board.

- Transferred responsibilities for the Community Hospital Education Act from the Board of Regents and the



Division of Universities to the commissioner of education and the State Board of Education.

- Provided for submission of three nominees by the Community College Coordinating Board to the Board of Advisors for Educational Research and Development.

- Eliminated the provisions in § 447.203(2), Florida Statutes, which allows employees of the State University System to be removed from the Board of Regents collective bargaining unit.

A Summary of the Committee Substitute for House Bill 1769

The Committee Substitute for the Committee Substitute for House Bill 1769 by Representative Morgan was active late in the session. It differed from House Bill 7-D, the final version, in the following areas:

1. House Bill 1769 included provision for the merger of Florida International University and Florida Atlantic University to create a single institution.
2. It abolished the Board of Regents and the Community College Coordinating Board.
3. The bill designated that the universities be constituted as political subdivisions with a university board of trustees, as a body corporate, established for each institution.

4. House Bill 1769 provided that the State Board of Education be authorized to approve or disapprove the systemwide master plan. The State Board of Education would no longer be involved in the rulemaking process.
5. It provided for university salary increases. Competitive marketplace adjustments, beginning July 1, 1980, by rank and discipline category to assure that each salary be at least at the 85th percentile of the Oklahoma State University 1979-1980 Salary Survey, also were provided.

#### Comparison of the bills

Early in the session four major bills relating to post-secondary education were before the Legislature. Those bills were Senate Bill 986, Senate Bill 1275, Senate Bill 1276, and the House Higher Education Committee Proposed Committee Bill # 1. Table 2 compares the governing structure proposed by the four different bills. Later in the session the Senate Education Committee substituted a bill for Senate Bill 986, Senate Bill 1275, and Senate Bill 1276. Table 3 compares the provisions of the Senate Committee Substitute Bill with those of the House Higher Education Committee Proposed Committee Bill.

A Comparison of Senate Bills 986, 1275, 1276  
and House Higher Education Committee Proposed  
Committee Bill #1

BILLS

ORGANIZATION AFFECTED	SB 986 McKay-Ware-Jobiasen (Governor's position)	SB 1275 Neal	SB 1276 Peterson-Maxwell Gordon-Hair	House Higher Ed. Committee PCB-1
State Board of Education (SBE)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Adopts master plan by rule</li> <li>-Ensures compliance with master plan</li> <li>-Contracts with independent institutions</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Adopts master plan by rule</li> <li>-Ensures compliance with master plan</li> <li>-Contracts with independent institutions</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Delegation of rule-making to commissioner</li> <li>-Acquires some responsibilities of BOR (see attachment)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Approves or disapproves master plan</li> <li>-Policymaking &amp; coordination responsibility for K-12 and Vo-Tech</li> <li>-Loses responsibility for postsecondary education</li> </ul>
Postsecondary Coordinating Commission	<p>*Not addressed in statute*</p> <p>Governor's Plan:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Establish by executive order</li> <li>-Advisory to SBE only</li> <li>-Develops Master Plan and program budget, submits to SBE for adoption</li> <li>-Recommends contracts with plan</li> <li>-Monitors compliance</li> <li>-Staff in DOE, hired by commissioner</li> <li>-Members appointed by SBE from nominees submitted by commissioner</li> <li>-Members reflect constituency representation</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-PPSC created in statute</li> <li>-Advisory to SBE only</li> <li>-Develops master plan and program budget, submits to SBE for adoption</li> <li>-Recommends contracts with plan</li> <li>-Staff in DOE, hired by commissioner</li> <li>-Members appointed by SBE from nominees submitted by commissioner</li> <li>-Members reflect constituency representation</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-PPCC created in statute</li> <li>-Policymaking and coordinating responsibility for postsecondary education:</li> <li>-Develops master plan and adopts by rule</li> <li>-Rulemaking authority for postsecondary</li> <li>-Recommends budget to governor and legislature</li> <li>-Program review and approval</li> <li>-Contracts with independent institutions</li> <li>-Allocates appropriation to institutions</li> <li>-Governs student financial aid commission</li> <li>-Membership: Commissioner of education, 10 appointees of governor</li> <li>-PPCC selects executive director; executive director selects staff</li> </ul>	

A Comparison of Senate Bills 986, 1275, 1276  
and House Higher Education Committee Proposed  
Committee Bill #1

BILLS

ORGANIZATION AFFECTED	SB 986 McKay-Ware-Tobiasen (Governor's Position)	SB 1275 Neal	SB 1276 Peterson-Maxwell Gordon-Halt	House Higher Ed. Committee PCB-1
Board of Regents (BOR)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Expanded to 13 members</li> <li>-Terms reduced to six yrs.</li> <li>-No more than one Regent per congressional district</li> </ul>	-No change	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Transferred to Office of Commissioner</li> <li>-Function solely advisory to commissioner</li> <li>-Chancellor and staff abolished</li> <li>-Authority transferred to SBE and commissioner</li> </ul>	-Abolished
University Boards of Trustees			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Created by statute</li> <li>•Internal operation of university</li> <li>•Select presidents</li> <li>•Approve budgets, submit to commissioner</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Created by statute</li> <li>•Internal operation of university</li> <li>•Select presidents</li> <li>•Approve budgets, submit to PBOC</li> </ul>
Community College Coordinating Board	-No Change	-No change	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Transferred to Office of Commissioner</li> <li>-Function solely advisory to commissioner</li> </ul>	-Abolished
Department of Education	-No change	-No change	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Creates Division of Higher Education</li> <li>-Abolishes Division of Universities and Colleges</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Creates Division of Postsecondary Education</li> <li>-Abolishes Division of Universities and Division of Community Colleges</li> </ul>

BILLS

ORGANIZATION AFFECTED	SB 986 McKay-Ware-Tobiasen (Governor's position)	SB 1275 Neal	SB 1276 Peterson-Maxwell Gordon-Hair	House Higher Ed. Committee PCB-1
Commissioner of Education	-No change	-No change	-Assigned rulemaking authority (approved by SBE) -Acquires some responsi- bilities of BOR (see attachment)	-Member of PBOC
Community College Boards of Trustees	-No change	-No change	-No change	-No change

BILLS

ORGANIZATION AFFECTED	CS/CS/HB 1769	CS/SB's 986, 657, 826, 1181, 1275 & 1276
State Board of Education	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>-Approves or disapproves postsecondary master plan adopted by PECC</li><li>-Responsibility for policymaking and coordination for postsecondary education is given to PECC</li><li>-Retains responsibility for the Division of Public Schools, vocational-technical education under the jurisdiction of the district school boards, and the Division of Blind Services</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>-Designated state coordinating and planning agency for postsecondary education with expanded responsibilities</li><li>-to contract with independent institutions</li><li>-to adopt master plan</li><li>-to approve program requests and to review program requests and make recommendations to the Legislature and governor</li><li>-to direct governing boards to terminate programs inconsistent with master plan</li><li>-to participate in the budget request process as requested by the Executive and Legislative branches and to establish criteria for state support of programs</li><li>-SBE directed to approve regional consortia of postsecondary institutions</li><li>-SBE amends Board of Regents' rules</li></ul>
Postsecondary Coordinating Commission	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>-PECC created in statute</li><li>-Membership: Commissioner of education and 11 appointees of the governor (including one community college and one SUS student), confirmed by Senate and House</li><li>-Principal powers and duties:<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>-policymaking and coordinating responsibilities for postsecondary education</li><li>-adopt rules for universities and community colleges</li><li>-develop and adopt by rule a Master plan</li><li>-review and approve new program requests</li><li>-review and terminate existing programs</li><li>-coordinate statewide program evaluations</li><li>-review and recommend budget requests to governor and Legislature</li></ul></li><li>-contract with independent institutions</li><li>-appoint Articulation Committee</li><li>-set admission standards</li><li>-serve as "1202" Commission</li><li>-Staff: PECC selects executive director; executive director appoints staff--limited to 16 positions</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>-FPCC created in statute, sunset in 1985</li><li>-Membership: 13 appointees of governor</li><li>-Principal powers and duties:<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>-advisory to SBE only</li><li>-prepares master plan, submits to SBE</li><li>-prepares program-based budget process, submits to SBE</li><li>-recommends contracts with independents to SBE</li><li>-proposes/reviews planning and coordination rules to SBE</li><li>-otherwise assists SBE as SBE deems appropriate</li></ul></li></ul>

A Comparison of Senate Bill 1769 and the  
Committee Substitute for Senate Bill 986

BILLS

ORGANIZATION AFFECTED	CS/CS/HB 1769	CS/SB's 986, 657, 826, 1181, 1275 & 1276
Board of Regents	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Operational duties delegated to boards of trustees</li> <li>-Coordinating responsibilities delegated to the PBCC</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Expanded to 13 members</li> <li>-Terms decreased to six years</li> <li>-Limit one Regent per congressional district</li> <li>-Joint responsibility with commissioner for cost-estimating</li> <li>-Retain all existing responsibilities except for contracting with independent institutions</li> </ul>
University Boards of Trustees	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Created by statute</li> <li>-Membership: nine appointees of governor (including one university student), confirmed by House and Senate</li> <li>-Principal powers and duties:                             <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-adopt rules governing university</li> <li>-appoint and remove president</li> <li>-prepare legislative budget request, submit to PBCC Legislature</li> <li>-approve operating budgets</li> <li>-designate public employer for collective bargaining</li> <li>-terminate programs</li> <li>-govern admissions</li> </ul> </li> <li>-Coordinating responsibilities delegated to the PBCC</li> </ul>	
Community College Coordinating Board		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Recommend rules to SBE (instead of "establish and develop")</li> <li>-Limits board to nine members who are community college trustees at time of appointment</li> <li>-Allows SBE to delegate authority to Board</li> </ul>
Community College Boards of Trustees	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Trustee appointments not approved by SBE</li> <li>-Trustee appointments confirmed by House and Senate</li> <li>-Submits legislative budget requests to PBCC and Legislature</li> <li>-Prepares operating budget</li> <li>-Develops rules and procedures; reviews operations</li> </ul>	-No change
Department of Education	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Creates the PBCC within the Department of Education</li> <li>-Incorporates authorities previously given to the Division of Universities and Division of Community Colleges</li> <li>-Supervision of PBCC limited to that "expressly provided by law"</li> </ul>	-No change

BILLS

ORGANIZATION AFFECTED	CS/CS/HB 1769	CS/SB's 986, 657, 826, 1181, 1275 & 1276
Commissioner of Education	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Member of PECC</li> <li>-Specifies that responsibilities pertain to the Division of Public Schools, vocational-technical schools and the Division of Blind Services</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Expanded management role:               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-oversees Community Hospital Education Program</li> <li>-approves community college operating budgets</li> <li>-grants permission for community colleges to negotiate current loans</li> <li>-grants approval for community college unexpended fund balances over 10%</li> <li>-determines conditions of employment in community colleges</li> <li>-approves donations of land for community college presidents' homes</li> <li>-Directed to fund regional consortia (50% match)</li> <li>-Directed to fund Southeast Florida regional consortium</li> <li>-Joint responsibility with Board of Regents for cost-estimating</li> </ul> </li> </ul>
Florida Student Financial Assistance Commission	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Renamed an Authority</li> <li>-Placed under supervision of PECC</li> </ul>	-No change
Other Significant Features	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Makes UNF a component of UF, with lower division and doctoral-level education</li> <li>-UF assumes operational responsibility for University Hospital of Jacksonville</li> <li>-Merges FNU and FIU with lower division</li> <li>-Provides for competitive/merit salary adjustments to achieve nationally competitive faculty salaries</li> <li>-Encourages regional consortia; directs S.E. Florida Consortium to conduct regional needs assessment</li> <li>-Incorporates Women's Intercollegiate Athletic Equity Act</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Lower division at FIU</li> <li>-Eliminates provision in HB 1689 permitting campus elections for withdrawal from UF</li> <li>-Feasibility study for USF teaching hospital</li> <li>-Directs S.E. Florida Consortium to conduct regional needs assessment</li> <li>-Incorporates Women's Intercollegiate Athletics Equity Act</li> <li>-Eliminates legislative approval for construction of child care facilities</li> </ul>



Summary of Senate Bill 5-D

Senate Bill 5-D by Senator Lewis by request was very similar to House Bill 7-D. The differences between House Bill 7-D and Senate Bill 5-D are as follows:

1. Senate Bill 5-D eliminated the provision for merging the University of North Florida with the University of Florida by making a provision to study issues relating to merging the institutions.
2. Senate Bill 5-D eliminated the provision that the State Board of Education would be authorized to approve, conditionally approve, or disapprove rules submitted by the Board of Regents within 45 days and to adopt rules for coordination and implementation of the master plan.
3. Senate Bill 5-D eliminated the provision for the Board of Regents to maintain the existing fee structure unless changed by the Legislature.
4. Senate Bill 5-D eliminated the provision that the State Board of Education would be authorized to establish a branch of an existing university in Broward County.

Summary of Committee Substitute for Senate Bill 5-D

The Committee Substitute for Senate Bill 5-D by the Education Committee and Senator Lewis by request is very

similar to Senate Bill 5-D. The differences between the two bills:

1. The Committee Substitute removes the provision to study issues relating to merging institutions.
2. The Committee Substitute provides that the Board of Regents maintain the existing fee structure unless changed by the Legislature.
3. The Committee Substitute adds a provision which eliminates the provision in Statute 447.203(2), Florida Statutes, which allows employees of the State University System to be removed from the Board of Regents Collective Bargaining Unit.

#### Summaries of Bills Related to House Bill 7-D

Chapter V includes a discussion of the process by which House Bill 7-D was held hostage for other bills. That is to say the Senate would not allow passage of House Bill 7-D, a high priority in the House, until the House agreed to pass other bills which were high on the priority list of the Senate. Two important bills, related through the legislative process to House Bill 7-D, were the Supplemental Appropriations Bill and the Truth in Millage Bill.

The Truth in Millage Bill, the TRIM Bill for short, had several provisions, including a required local effort and

millage rate; equalization of required local effort; determination of discretionary millage; setting the rollback rate or the rate on the current year's certified tax roll required to produce the same amount of funds produced by the prior year's levy millage in the prior year's tax roll; allowing replacement funds to each school district in an amount equal to the revenue lost as a result of the increase in homestead exemption; and prescribed procedures for notice of tax increase and notice of budget hearings.

The Supplemental Appropriations Bill included the following provisions: Assigned FTE enrollment for 1980-81 for community college -- 95,154 for advanced professional, 67,188 for occupational, 5,645 for compensatory, 11,314 for adult basic and high school, total 179,301; authorized up to 340 positions for the 1980-81 State University System Quality Improvement Program; appropriated \$8,750,000 for critical class/marketplace faculty salary adjustments for universities with funds to be used to bring salaries by rank and discipline to at least 85% of the Oklahoma State University 1979-80 Salary Survey for that rank and discipline category and none expended for a general across-the-board increase; authorized 40 positions and \$1,231,417 for women's intercollegiate athletics; approved funds for lower division programs at FIU, UNF, and UWF; provided \$5,000,000 for eminent scholars

and \$800,000 for Florida academic scholars; allocated to Tampa General Hospital \$2,613,141 and to Jacksonville Health Educational Programs, Incorporated, \$1,950,000; provided for a joint House/Senate study commission of eight members appointed by the speaker and president to examine the feasibility of a merger of UF and FAU, FAU and FIU, FSU and UWF, and any other configuration.

In addition to the TRIM and Supplemented Appropriations bills, there were several other issues considered in the special session. The renter relief bill, a plan to give property tax relief to people who rent homes and apartments under a plan of tying it to the income of the renters, did not pass. A 4% sales tax on newspaper, radio and broadcasting advertising was another issue considered during the special session.

#### Summary of the Governor's Veto Message

On July 10, 1980, the governor held a news conference to announce his veto of House Bill 7-D. In his veto message he indicated that there were many positive provisions in the bill, including those which improved planning and coordination of various sectors of postsecondary education; those that enlarged the size of the Board of Regents and reduced the length of terms for the regents; those that provided an additional revenue source for student financial assistance;

and those that improved the ability of the State Board of Education to provide policy leadership.

Despite the benefits derived from these sections, the governor said he believed that the bill failed when judged by the standard of the overall contribution to the long-term goal of enhancement of the quality of education at all levels in the State of Florida. The Governor stated that the attainment of this goal would emerge from the following four conditions:

1. Policy must be set by a governing board of lay independent citizens which serves as an intermediary between the necessarily protected freedoms of the academic community and the equally necessary responsibility of political institutions in our democratic society to be responsive to the public will.

2. The independent governing board must develop a long-term strategy for quality improvement.

3. Coordination among the various sectors of post-secondary education must be intensified.

4. Adequate and the focused resources must be provided to educational programs. Given the limitations on resources, the governing board must clearly identify the standards to be achieved by each educational program and focus the allocation of limited resources accordingly.

The governor concluded that the overall impact of House Bill 7-D was to defuse support for higher education and to abrogate the independence of the Board of Regents. Other decisions in the bill would implement contradictory policies that reflected disparate political considerations, especially with regard to medical education. Still other decisions, he stated, would blur the responsibility for assessing the state's educational needs, leading to further diffusion rather than to sharper focusing of limited resources.

In the veto message the Governor sympathized with but did not support the Legislature's shattering indictment and demonstrated lack of confidence in the Board of Regents. The governor stated that it was his intention to strengthen the ability of the Board of Regents to function as an intermediary for the universities.

In an attempt to restore the confidence of the legislature in the Board of Regents, the governor suggested the following agenda to the new chancellor:

1. The regents must take the initiative to review the options on the merger issue and recommend feasible alternatives or make a compelling case against any mergers.
2. The regents should develop a comprehensive policy regarding undergraduate education, including the addition of lower divisions to upper division universities and the conversion of the university system to the semester calendar.

3. The regents should make major recommendations for the quality and scope of medical- and health-related instruction, research, and service in the decade ahead.

4. To assist in the effort to expand the economic base of the State of Florida, the Board of Regents should give high priority to a statewide program in engineering education, including engineering extension programs in continuing education.

5. Coordination with other sectors should be a prime responsibility of the Regents.

In his veto message the governor announced two initiatives he hoped would offset some of the negative effects of his veto. In the first initiative the governor promised to take appropriate legal action to release faculty salary moneys tied by the proviso language of the appropriations bill to the enactment of House Bill 7-D. Legal counsel advised the governor that such proviso language was unconstitutional. In his second initiative the governor announced his intention to give the Cabinet two years to show that it could function effectively as a State Board of Education. He created the Postsecondary Education Commission to develop and recommend a master plan to the state board.

This chapter summarized a number of bills and reports important to the development of House Bill 7-D. It also

detailed a chronology of events related to that Bill.

Chapter V presents the findings of the study related to the informal operations of the Florida Legislature as it passed House Bill 7-D.



## CHAPTER V

### REPORT AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS: THE INFORMAL WORKINGS OF THE FLORIDA LEGISLATIVE SYSTEM DURING THE PASSAGE OF AN OMNIBUS POSTSECONDARY EDUCATION BILL

This chapter includes a brief summary of the purpose and design of the study and a detailed report and discussion of the findings of the study. While Chapter IV considered the formal organization and operations of the legislative system in Florida, Chapter V considers the informal nature of that system. Chapter VI then describes the extent to which the findings of this study are consistent with propositions selected from the literature.

The findings included in this chapter are reported in five broad topic areas corresponding to five of the six items in the statement of problem on pages 1 and 2. Those topic areas are listed as follows:

1. The major issues involved in House Bill 7-D and their relative importance in the passage of the legislation
2. The individuals most influential in the legislative process resulting in House Bill 7-D.
3. The groups, organizations, institutions, and educational and state agencies most influential in the legislative process resulting in House Bill 7-D.

4. The statewide, regional, and/or local circumstances such as economic, social, or cultural factors that had an impact on the Legislature in its consideration of higher education legislation in 1980.
5. The processes internal to the Legislature operating in the passage of House Bill 7-D and feedback on the system.

#### The Purpose and Design of the Study

The purpose of this study was to describe the legislative system as it operated in Florida during the 1980 passage of House Bill 7-D. The investigation focused on the issues related to the bill, the individuals most influential in support of and in opposition to the bill, the environmental conditions influential in the passage of the bill, the internal legislative processes operating to produce the bill, the feedback resulting from the bill, and, finally, the degree to which the findings of this study were consistent with propositions selected from the literature.

A descriptive case study design was used. The design was based on a combination of Hunter's Reputational Technique (1953) and Dahl's Decision Analysis Technique (1961). The sources of information included selections from the scholarly literature, written records and public documents, and interviews with knowledgeable persons and influential individuals.

The first series of interviews was conducted with twelve knowledgeable persons chosen because of their positions. In those first interviews the knowledgeable persons were asked to identify the individuals most influential in the passage of House Bill 7-D. The knowledgeable persons identified 31 influential individuals. Twenty-two of those influential individuals were interviewed in the second series. The following is a list of those knowledgeable persons interviewed in the first series:

1. Educational Policy Unit coordinator, Office of the Governor.
2. Staff director, Senate Appropriations Subcommittee B.
3. Staff director, House Higher Education Committee.
4. Deputy commissioner of education.
5. Staff analyst, Senate Education Committee.
6. Chairperson, House Higher Education Committee.
7. Chancellor, State University System.
8. Speaker of the House of Representatives.
9. Director of the Division of Community Colleges.
10. Staff analyst, House Appropriations Subcommittee III.
11. Informed reporter.
12. President of the Senate.

Only one knowledgeable person, Chairperson of the Senate Education Committee, who was scheduled to be interviewed in the first series, was unable to offer an interview appointment. See Appendix C for the names of those interviewed.

The twelve knowledgeable persons listed above identified the following influential individuals who were interviewed in the second series:

1. Representative Hyatt Brown, speaker of the House of Representatives.
2. Representative Sam Bell, majority whip of the House of Representatives.
3. Dr. William Shade, educational policy analyst, Office of the Governor.
4. J. J. Daniel, member of the Board of Regents, publisher, Florida Times Union.
5. Representative Beverly Burnsed, Chairperson, House Higher Education Committee.
6. Dr. Ken Megill, president, United Faculty of Florida.
7. Senator Clark Maxwell, Appropriations Committee member.
8. Dr. Roger Nicols, deputy commissioner of education.
9. Dr. Charles Reed, educational policy unit coordinator, Office of the Governor;

10. Dr. Lee Henderson, director, Division of Community Colleges.
11. Senator Jack Gordon, Education Committee member.
12. Senator Curtis Peterson, Appropriations Committee member.
13. Ralph Turlington, commissioner of education.
14. Representative Herb Morgan, Chairperson, House Appropriations Committee.
15. DuBois Ausley, member, Board of Regents.
16. Dr. George Bedell, interim chancellor, State University System.
17. Senator Mattox Hair, Appropriations Committee member.
18. Dr. William Law, staff director, House Higher Education Committee.
19. Senator Phil Lewis, president of the Senate.
20. Terrell Sessums, member, Board of Regents.
21. Representative Steve Pajcic, Higher Education Committee member.
22. Dr. E. T. York, chancellor, Board of Regents.

Appointments could not be scheduled with the following influential individuals who were identified by at least three knowledgeable persons in the first series of interviews:

1. Governor Bob Graham.
2. Senator Kenneth McKay, chairperson, Senate Education Committee.
3. Jack McGriff, chairperson, Board of Regents.
4. Marshall Criser, member, Board of Regents.
5. Dr. Bernie Sleiger, president, Florida State University.
6. Dr. Robert Marston, president, University of Florida.
7. Marjorie Turnbull, staff of the speaker of the House.
8. Senator Dempsey Barron, dean of the Senate.
9. Senator W. D. Childers, incoming president of the Senate.

Report and Discussion of Findings Related To  
The Major Issues Of House Bill 7-D  
And Their Relative Importance

The presentation of the major issues of House Bill 7-D is in two parts. The first part considers the results obtained in the interviews with the influential individuals. The second part considers the results of the examination of pertinent newspaper articles included in the Department of Education's clipping service. Results of the Interviews ✓

Several themes seem to thread their way throughout the responses in most of the interviews. The first theme was

that of improving the quality of higher education in the State of Florida. Most influential individuals were truly committed to bringing Florida's higher education system out of mediocrity and into preeminence. The second theme that emerged was the existence of a power struggle in attempts to restructure the higher education system. The following list of issues is in order of their importance in House Bill 7-D. An assumption is made that the more frequently an issue is mentioned by the interviewees, the more important that issue is perceived to be. The list begins with the most frequently mentioned issue and ends with the least frequently mentioned issue.

1. Proposed mergers of the following universities:  
University of Florida with University of North Florida, Florida International University with Florida Atlantic University, Florida Atlantic University with the University of Florida, Florida State University with the University of West Florida, the University of Florida with five other universities.
2. The ineffectiveness of the Board of Regents and its possible elimination.
3. Improved coordination among the universities and community colleges and among the three systems of

higher education: the State University System, the Community College System, and the Vocational Educational System.

4. Determination of the criteria for the distribution of resources to universities according to criteria such as established or new universities; research, comprehensive, or upper level universities; rural or urban universities.
5. Improvement of the quality of higher education.
6. Increased faculty salaries and the criteria for determining those increases.
7. The addition of lower division programs in the four upper division universities.
8. Individual boards of trustees for each university.
9. Medical education, including the merger of University Hospital in Jacksonville with Shands Teaching Hospital at the University of Florida, and the appropriation of funds for the expansion of Shands Teaching Hospital in Gainesville.
10. Fear that with reapportionment legislative support will flow away from the University of Florida and other North Florida universities to South Florida institutions.



Findings From the Department of Education Clipping Service

The following list of issues relating to House Bill 7-D was developed from an examination of pertinent newspaper articles in the Department of Education's clipping service. The list begins with the most frequently mentioned issue and ends with the least frequently mentioned issue. It is assumed that the more frequently mentioned issues are those that are perceived by the press to be the most important issues in House Bill 7-D.

1. Various proposed mergers of universities.
2. The abolition of the Board of Regents.
3. Improved funding for the State University System, including increases in faculty salaries and the determination of the criteria of distribution of those increases.
4. The merger of University Hospital in Jacksonville with Shands Teaching Hospital at the University of Florida.
5. The purported diversionary tactics of the Legislature used to divert attention from what is seen as the real issue of increased funding for the university system.
6. The State Board of Education, abolishing its higher education responsibilities or awarding it additional authority.

7. The addition of lower divisions at four upper-division universities.
8. The addition of a higher education presence in Broward County.

The comparison of the two preceding lists shows that the two different methods of investigation, interviewing influential individuals and examining newspaper articles, produced similar findings. It is obvious that university mergers, the status of the Board of Regents, and faculty salaries were three of the most important issues related to House Bill 7-D.

Report and Discussion of Findings Related To  
Individuals Influential in the Legislative Process  
Resulting in House Bill 7-D

In the second series of interviews the 22 influential individuals were asked to identify those persons who were most influential in the legislative process resulting in House Bill 7-D. The list in Table 4 begins with the individual most frequently mentioned and ends with those individuals least frequently mentioned. The number following each name reflects the number of times that individual was mentioned. Twenty-five individuals received only one mention. Their names are not listed.

Table 4  
Frequency With Which Influential Individuals Were Identified  
In Interviews

---

<u>Name</u>	<u>Frequency of Mention</u>
Representative Sam Bell Majority Whip House of Representatives	22
Representative Beverly Burnsed Chairperson House Higher Education Committee	20
Senator Jack Gordon	20
Representative Hyatt Brown Speaker House of Representatives	19
Governor Bob Graham	18
Senator Phil Lewis President of the Senate	18
Senator Kenneth McKay Chairperson Senate Education Committee	18
Senator Curtis Peterson	13
Representative Herb Morgan Chairperson House Appropriations Committee	12
Dr. E. T. York Chancellor State University System	10
Ralph Turlington Commissioner of Education	9
Dr. George Bedell Interim Chancellor State University System	8

Table 4 (continued)

<u>Name</u>	<u>Frequency of Mention</u>
Dr. Charles Reed Educational Policy Unit Coordinator Office of the Governor	8
Dr. William Law Staff Director House Higher Education Committee	6
Dr. William Shade Educational Policy Analyst Office of the Governor	6
Senator Dempsey Barron	5
Senator Mattox Hair	5
Senator Clark Maxwell	5
Representative Steve Pajcic	5
Marjorie Turnbull Staff Speaker of the House	4
DuBois Ausley Member, Board of Regents	3
Senator Joe Carlucci	3
J. J. Daniel Member, Board of Regents	3
Dr. Robert Marston, President University of Florida	3
Jack McGriff Chairman Board of Regents	3
Dr. William Proctor Chairman, Independent College and University Federation and President, Flagler College	3

Table 4 (continued)

<u>Name</u>	<u>Frequency of Mention</u>
Representative William Sadowski	3
Attorney General Jim Smith	3
Senator W. D. Childers	2
Lin Clark University of Miami	2
Marshall Criser Member, Board of Regents	2
Senator Pat Frank	2
Preston Haskell Member, Joint Executive and Legislative Commission on Postsecondary Education	2
Representative Richard Hodes	2
Robert Hudson Chairperson, State Community College Coordinating Board	2
Senator Kenneth Jenne	2
Representative Dennis Jones	2
Representative Fred Lippman	2
Raymond MacGuire Member, State Community College Coordinating Board	2
Senator James Scott	2

---

During each of the second series of interviews the interviewee was asked to rank the influential individuals he named from most influential to least influential in the

legislative process. Four interviewees chose not to complete this task. Table 5 lists of all the influential individuals receiving three or more mentions. The number following each name is the average ranking. The list is ordered from most influential to least influential according to average ranking.

Table 5  
Average Ranking of Influence of Individuals  
Identified in the Interviews

<u>Name</u>	<u>Average Ranking</u>
Representative Sam Bell	2.7
Representative Hyatt Brown	2.7
Senator Kenneth McKay	4.9
Senator Phil Lewis	5.4
Representative Beverly Burnsed	5.6
Senator Jack Gordon	5.6
Representative Herb Morgan	6.5
Dr. George Bedell	7.1
Governor Bob Graham	7.3
Marjorie Turnbull	7.5
Dr. E. T. York	7.6
Representative Steve Pajcic	9.2
Senator Clark Maxwell	9.3
Dr. Robert Marston	10.0
Dr. William Proctor	11.0
Dr. Charles Reed	12.3
Senator Dempsey Barron	12.3
Dr. William Law	12.8
Senator Mattox Hair	13.2
Attorney General Jim Smith	13.5
Senator Curtis Peterson	13.7
Jack McGriff	14.7
Representative William Sadowski	16.3
Commissioner Ralph Turlington	16.6
DuBois Ausley	18.0
Dr. William Shade	19.0
Senator Joe Carlucci	22.5

When comparing the two lists in Tables 4 and 5, frequency of mention and average rankings, it is noticeable that the

same nine people are in the top ten on both lists. Only one name differs. Senator Peterson is high in frequency of mention but lower in average ranking. Marjorie Turnbull, on the other hand, is lower in frequency of mention and in the top ten in average ranking.

Report and Discussion of Findings Related To  
Groups Influential in the Legislative Process

This section details findings about informal groups, organizations, institutions, and educational and state agencies that were the most influential in the passage of House Bill 7-D. The information was obtained from interviews and from an examination of pertinent newspaper articles.

Table 6 is a list of those influential groups identified in the interviews. Only those groups that were mentioned three or more times are listed. The number of times the groups was named is indicated.

Table 6  
Influential Groups Identified in the Interviews

<u>Group</u>	<u>Frequency of Mention</u>
Board of Regents	18
House Leadership	10
Individual Universities	10
Jacksonville Delegation and Merger Supporters	9
Department of Education and Commissioner's Staff	8
Governor's Staff	8
Regents' Staff	7
United Faculty of Florida	6

Table 6 (continued)

<u>Group</u>	<u>Frequency of Mention</u>
Community Colleges	5
Community College Coordinating Board	4
Florida Student Association	4
Independent College and University Federation	4
Dade Delegation	3
Division of Community Colleges	3
Joint Commission	3
Hillsborough delegation	3
University of Florida supporters	3

---

An analysis of the interviews and newspaper clippings indicates that informal groups supporting or opposing certain sections of the bill seemed to form. One group, consisting of students, United Faculty of Florida, the House leadership, Senator Gordon, and Senator Peterson, was in favor of abolishing the Board of Regents. The informal group supporting the survival of the Board of Regents included, of course, the regents themselves, the regents' staff, the governor and his office, Senator Lewis, and Senator McKay.

Dr. York encouraged the university presidents to lobby as a team for the regents' position. However, some university presidents and other university supporters lobbied for parochial interests. President Bernie Sleiger, Attorney General Jim Smith and Representative Herb Morgan were an advocate group for Florida State University. Another informal group of Representative Hodes, President John Lott Brown, and Representative Moffett took the side of the University



of South Florida against the merger and funding of University Hospital. Representatives Brown, Bell, Martin, and Burnsed, Senator McKay, President Robert Marston, members of the University of Florida Foundation, Wayne Reitz and Buddy Jacobs, made up an informal group supporting the University of Florida. The Jacksonville delegation was interested in the concerns of the University of North Florida, but eventually supported the merger after the merger of the University Hospital was thrown in. Mayor Jake Godbold of Jacksonville was also part of the group supporting the merger. Administrators, faculty, and students at the University of North Florida were opposed to the merger.

One official made the following comment when listing groups, "Every group had its turf to guard and its turkeys to promote." The word "turkeys" is Florida legislative jargon for parochial issues or pet projects of legislators.

Report and Discussion of Findings Related To  
Environmental Conditions Impacting the Legislature

Perceptions of the influential individuals about the most important environmental conditions impacting the Legislature were sought in the interviews. Those circumstantial or environmental conditions are economic, social, cultural, and other factors which are transmitted as input to the legislative system. This section details in narrative form the perceptions of those influential individuals.

### Economic Conditions

Many perceived a mood favoring the broadening the base of Florida's economy through economic development. There was a serious concern about why businesses were choosing not to locate in Florida. Prior to the 1979 Session, Lieutenant Governor Mixson, Representative Haben, Representative Kuten, and others visited several companies around the country which had decided not to locate in Florida. Consistently those companies listed among their reasons for not locating in Florida the lack of quality in education and the lack of good engineering schools.

Influential individuals stated there was a serious interest in finding ways for the state to support and encourage the location of business and industry in Florida. It was believed that a coordinated statewide effort to meet the educational, research and development needs of new industry was required. Such statewide coordination was necessary to determine where new educational programs to serve business and industry would be located.

### Demographic Factors

Demographic changes were perceived as another important environmental factor impacting the Legislature. The research universities were not located in the population centers. They were located in rural areas such as Gainesville and

Tallahassee. Population had rapidly grown in Southeast Florida, in Dade and Broward counties in particular. There are no public four-year, comprehensive, or research universities located in Southeast Florida to serve the expanding population.

It also was perceived that reapportionment upcoming in 1982 would threaten the established universities' efforts for quality. It was expected that in the reapportionment South Florida would receive more legislative seats because of its growing population. This would result in a shift of power from North Florida. In the past, legislative leadership was usually held by legislators from the Panhandle or North Florida. Senator Gordon from South Florida has been a strong advocate of allocating more resources for higher education in that area. With more representation from south Florida, allocations to the established universities were expected to suffer. Some influentials saw 1980 as the last chance to protect the University of Florida.

There was also concern about placebound students. Employees of businesses and industries are placebound, as are women in transition, lifelong learners, the aging population, and the growing black and latin populations. These placebound students are unable to attend the established research universities located in rural areas.

### Public Attitudes on Postsecondary Education

Influentials also perceived that the public was dissatisfied with higher education. There was the belief that Florida has too many universities, all of them mediocre. Some thought that the University of Florida and, to a lesser degree, Florida State University were just short of preeminence. However, because of the present resource allocation policies of the Board of Regents the chances of the University of Florida and Florida State University achieving excellence were perceived as threatened.

### Report and Discussion of Findings Related To the Informal Legislative Process

Using information collected in the interviews and in examination of pertinent news articles, this section describes the informal dynamics of the legislative process. These informal dynamics of the internal conversion processes of the legislative system operate to convert inputs to outputs.

### Background

During the past two decades public postsecondary education in Florida has experienced a period of rapid growth which, coupled with inflation, resulted in financial problems in the system. During this period of rapid growth the challenge of providing access to postsecondary education was met.

In 1950 there were 20,000 students in higher education in the State of Florida in three universities and four community colleges. In 1980 there were 150,000 students in higher education in nine universities and 28 colleges. Access no longer seemed to be a concern as the attention of legislators shifted to the question of quality.

When E. T. York became Chancellor in 1975, he developed a five-year plan to focus the attention of the state's leaders on quality in higher education. In 1977 York created a Commission on the Future of Florida's Public Universities which focused on the question of quality. The commission found that university faculty salaries were below the national average and that the state had no programs ranked among the best in several national rankings.

York sought the interest of legislative leaders, including Representatives Brown and Bell, and gained their attention. They were obviously committed to higher education. However, in the process they also came to see the Board of Regents and its perceived ineffectiveness as one of the causes of lack of quality in the higher education system.

Meanwhile, in 1978 Representative Brown, incoming speaker of the House of Representatives for the 1979 and 1980 sessions, was preparing his leadership agenda. Representative Brown became sensitized to the needs of higher education

and placed that issue high on his priority list. Chancellor York visited Representative Brown in Daytona during the summer of 1979 to talk with him about the findings of the commission. In addition, Representative Brown engineered a trip in November 1979 by several legislators and state officials to businesses around the country who had decided not to locate in Florida. In all cases the delegation found that companies listed the lack of quality higher education and the lack of technology in graduate programs to serve their industries research and staff needs as a very important reason for not relocating in Florida. Representative Brown tagged higher education as one of his five highest priorities because of its tie to the success of continued economic development in the state.

To focus more attention on higher education, Representative Brown created a new committee in the House, the House Higher Education Committee. Prior to 1979 higher education issues were handled by the House Education Committee, which also addressed K-12 education issues. This is the system still operative in the Senate. Brown appointed Representative Tom Moore to be chairperson of the new committee and stacked the committee membership with "heavies." When Representative Tom Moore was defeated for reelection Representative Beverly Burns was appointed to fill the chair.

Committee members were instructed that they had to go along with a list of issues developed by the leadership. Those higher education issues included the parochialism and ineffectiveness of the Board of Regents, changing the funding formula, enrollment caps, a moratorium on capital outlay, the problem that key decisionmakers had not been interested in higher education, and the ineffectiveness of the State Board of Education.

The Board of Regents began to lose its credibility with the Legislature in 1978, when a move to designate the University of Florida and Florida State University as Research I institutions was defeated by the University of South Florida contingent. In 1979 Representative Morgan, chairperson of the House Appropriations Committee, wanted a new resource allocation formula to to favor research institutions. The regents refused to negotiate and the House leadership decided to eliminate the Board of Regents. Apparently Chancellors Mautz and York had been forceful leaders whom the Regents may have depended upon too heavily. There may have been too little debate in the board meetings on important issues while the Regents most often took the Chancellors' recommendations. Therefore the Regents may not have been strong enough to articulate those issues with the Legislature. In addition, the lengthy terms of nine years may have resulted

in key thinkers among the Regents burning out before their terms expired.

There also was opposition to the regents in the Senate. Senator Jack Gordon has often been critical of the Regents. Bad feelings developed, reputedly because Chancellor York refused to appoint Senator Gordon's favored candidate for president of Florida International University.

A team approach seemed to be developing to establish the policy of increasing resource allocation to the more established universities. Representatives Brown and Bell were the champions for the University of Florida, Representative Morgan for Florida State University, and Representative Moffett, an upcoming speaker of the House, for the University of South Florida. Brown was quoted as saying (Frye, 1980) that unless the state curbs a drive towards nine flagship universities rather than one or two quality institutions, the state is sentencing all institutions to something less than mediocrity. There was a feeling of urgency developing for reforms in higher education. The House leadership believed that the 1979 and 1980 sessions would be their last chance to make such reforms. After that time the committed leadership would be rotating out and reapportionment would follow. The expectation was that reapportionment would bring a shift of power and leadership



from North Florida to South Florida. This shift of leadership to South Florida would prevent further consolidation of the advantages held by the more established North Florida institutions.

Another event impacted House leaders in their planning for higher education. In 1979 several legislators and staff members visited North Carolina to study its system of higher education, which operates with local boards of trustees and an overall governing board. The delegation was favorably impressed by the system and used North Carolina as a model in planning reforms for Florida's system.

#### The 1979 Session and House Bill 1689

During 1979, the first year of Representative Brown's two-year tenure as speaker of the House, he was able to begin his efforts to reform the higher education system. Some of the objectives of the House leadership were achieved through House Bill 1689, which was passed in the 1979 Session and became law soon after. That law effectively decentralized much of the authority from the Board of Regents to the presidents of the nine universities. Agreement on all points could not be reached by the House and Senate so a provision in House Bill 1689 created the Joint Legislative and Executive Commission on Postsecondary Education to study the issues.

The Joint Legislative and Executive Commission on Post-secondary Education.

The joint commission has been described as an ongoing conference committee. Some observers reported that the commission's chairman, Reece Smith, was "in the regents' pocket." Conversely, the Academy for Educational Development, hired as consultant to the commission, was reported to be primed by the House to recommend abolishment of the Board of Regents. At the last moment that recommendation was averted. According to reports given to the writer, the Academy president and board intervened and refused to allow such a recommendation from the field consultants. According to two individuals interviewed, representatives of the Board of Regents contacted the president of the Academy to discuss the proposed recommendation.

The Joint Commission was like a conference committee which did not reach consensus. The minority statement by Senators Gordon, Maxwell, Peterson, and Hair disagreed with the Joint Commission's recommendation for the creation of a new Postsecondary Education Coordinating Council and for a constitutional amendment to eliminate the authority of the governor and Cabinet to act as the State Board of Education. Even though the Senate members did not concur with the recommendations of the Joint Commission, the strategy of the

House had been successful in that the Joint Commission had kept the focus on higher education and seemed to bring the Senate along to some degree. A summary of the formal report of the Joint Commission is included in Chapter IV on page 80.

Going into the 1980 Legislative Session the House leadership was deeply committed to its agenda for further reform. The Senate, although interested in improving the quality of higher education in the state, would have preferred to leave the governor's instructions intact. In retrospect, it is evident that both houses did indeed have an interest in providing increased appropriations for faculty salaries.

The governor's recommendations to the 1980 Legislature indicate that he also favored increased appropriations for faculty salaries; however, he did not want university faculties to receive larger increases than did other state employees. He also was committed to allowing the governing structure to remain intact, which would give the State Board of Education a two-year trial period in improving its effectiveness in educational policymaking. There was a natural alliance between the Senate and the governor.

Representative Burnsed was quoted as saying at the beginning of the session that it may be that never again will the leaders of two houses and the governor be so dedicated to the concept of quality in higher education. At

that time she predicted that consensus would not come until the end of the session; in fact, consensus never came.

Early in the session the House strategy became evident. The House Higher Education Committee staff was writing an omnibus bill which had in it something for everybody. By tying in numerous little bills to the big bill, appropriations for faculty salary increases, and numerous "turkeys," or parochial issues, such as University Hospital and the Broward County higher education presence, everyone's interest rose or fell together. Justification for this strategy was found in the theme that major reform should not be piecemeal.

#### Early House Strategy

From 7 to 8 a.m. every morning the House leadership held game plan meetings. At those meetings the natural allies and enemies of the omnibus bill were listed. Opponents and undecided House members were targeted for lobbying. Smooth sailing for the bill was expected in the House because of the support of the leadership. Early in the session it was expected that the omnibus bill would be held hostage or traded in conference committee. One strategy considered by the House was to include tradeable items in the bill.

House Bill 1769 was finally filed on the last day allowed for committee bills to be filed. On that day Representative Mills, a member of the House Higher Education

Committee, was quoted as saying he expected a lot of posturing and a lot of reworking of the bill. Representative Burnsed was quoted as saying that the Senate bill and the House bill were closer than they looked and could be reconciled.

### Early Senate Action

In the Senate early in the session three bills reorganizing higher education were filed. At one point Senator Peterson's bill abolishing the Board of Regents seemed to have enough votes in the Senate Education Committee. As chairman of that committee, Senator McKay, who was in favor of maintaining the regents, extended debate on the issue and prevented a vote from being taken. Later it was reported that the governor called Senator Peterson and prevailed upon him to compromise his stand on abolishing the Board of Regents. Later the Education Committee passed a committee substitute which closely resembled Senator McKay's original bill with some of the elements of Senator Peterson's bill included. It also was reported that the Senate in adopting the committee substitute was seeking to have a bill significantly different from the House bill so that the highly divergent points could be developed for trading in the conference committee. Such a strategy is often a device of the bicameral legislative process.

Some of those interviewed by the writer stated that Senators Lewis and McKay were committed to protecting the Board of Regents. The Board of Regents also was very successful in bringing newspapers around the state into their alliance. Hendricks Chandler, Board of Regents Corporate Secretary, headed a campaign to communicate with newspaper editors around the state. A rash of newspaper editorials appeared criticizing the House for using diversionary tactics. Those preparing the editorials claimed that merger and threats of abolishing the Board of Regents were diversions from the real issue, increased appropriations for faculty salaries.

#### The Issue of Faculty Salaries

As stated previously, legislatures have been known to trade increased appropriations to higher education institutions for a loss in autonomy of those institutions. Such a trade seemed to have been more of a "sweetener" or pacifier in the case of House Bill 7-D. The House leadership, with the assistance of staff and Alona Theresa from Florida State University, developed a proposal for increased faculty salaries. The established universities, the University of Florida, Florida State University and University of South Florida, benefitted most from the proposed formula. Support of the incoming speaker of the House, Representative Moffett,

from USF's district, made the inclusion of USF in the most benefitted group a possibility and a reality.

Until early May the Office of the Governor refused to support any faculty salary increase greater than the increase for other state employees. At mid-session the governor changed his position and his staff assisted in working out the formula. The increase in faculty salaries was, of course, to be included in the Appropriations Bill. According to House strategy, appropriation of those moneys was to be tied in proviso language to the passage of the omnibus higher education bill. This technique of tying budget items to policy issues is not unique. In Massachusetts a controversial reorganization of higher education was linked to the overall budget bill. Backers of the measure thereby put the full House and Senate in the posture of having to vote down the entire State budget in order to reject the reorganization (Scully, 1980).

In Florida there was concern that such proviso language might be ruled unconstitutional. In 1979 leaders of the House challenged the governor in court regarding his use of six vetos which they considered contrary to express legislative intent. The court sustained four of the vetos and found the legislative restrictions attached to appropriations for salaries unconstitutional because they were not rationally

related to the purpose of the act. During the 1980 Session the House employed former legislator Sandy D'Alemberti, an attorney, to advise them on the constitutionality of proviso language in the 1980 Appropriations Act tying salary increases to the passage of the omnibus bill.

Obviously, the appropriations process is reflective of the policy priorities of the Legislature. In the Florida Legislature it is standard procedure for the leadership of the House and Senate to divide expected revenues among the various appropriations subcommittees accordingly. At one point during the 1980 session someone discovered in House Appropriations Subcommittee III that there was not enough revenue assigned to that group to cover the perceived needs of higher education. The speaker then ordered money taken from other subcommittees and added to that available to the subcommittee handling educational funding. Such a move demonstrates his commitment to higher education.

#### The Issue of University Mergers

Merger fever started early in the session. The idea of merging universities originated with Sam Bell during Joint Commission hearings. All the mergers considered are listed on page 70. It was reported that the major thrust of the suggested mergers was to protect and assist the University of Florida. To bring the Jacksonville delegation into



agreement, the House leadership agreed to include a merger between University Hospital in Jacksonville and Shands Teaching Hospital at the University of Florida. This trade pleased the Jacksonville delegation because the state would thereby defray some of the expenses of University Hospital. The reaction of legislative supporters of the University of South Florida, an institution with a medical school which wanted a teaching hospital of its own, was negative.

A House leader supporting the Shands University Hospital merger said that throwing out a program is like "throwing out a scrap of meat to a bunch of hungry dogs. Everyone wants his own personal turkey." One influential individual stated that "the merger issue was the most parochial issue he had ever seen." Another said it was a "scrap over turf."

From the beginning the House viewed the FAU/FIU merger as a trading point rather than a real issue. It was well known that Senator Lewis, president of the Senate, had vowed to protect FAU from merger.

In the House, House Bill 1769, the precursor of 7-D, sailed smoothly through committees. In one week it was passed out of the Higher Education, Governmental Operations, and Rules committees.

Action Later In the Session

Late in the session in the Senate, the leadership refused to let the higher education bill come to the floor. Meanwhile a power struggle occurred. W. D. Childers was scheduled to be president the following year. However, certain senators supported Senator Dan Scarborough in a last-minute run for the presidency. The Scarborough presidency bid was opposed by Senator Joe Carlucci, a member of Scarborough's own Jacksonville delegation. Scarborough and Carlucci were split on the merger issue with Carlucci opposed and Scarborough in favor. Mattox Hair, the third senator in the Jacksonville delegation, was finally brought around to supporting the merger by Senator Lewis and the arguments he proposed. Scarborough's grab for power was really not related to higher education issues; however, it may have affected Senator Hair's decision. The Senate as a whole really cared very little about the higher education bill and took a reactive posture.

Some type of agreement between Senator W. D. Childers and The Florida Times-Union has been reported. The Times-Union carried a story about a grand jury investigation in which Senator Childers was involved. The Times-Union and its publisher, Regent J. J. Daniel, favored the UNF/UF merger. It has been said that without the agreement the Senate would have killed the merger.

### The Conference Committee

Two days before the scheduled adjournment of the 1980 session, the Conference Committee on Higher Education was appointed. The practice of referring an issue to a conference committee has the effect of giving decisionmaking power to a very small group of people and withdrawing it from the full body of the Legislature. A conference committee report must be voted on as it stands by the full houses. Like the Joint Commission and the Education Committee, the membership of the conference committee was stacked. Members are appointed by the president of the Senate and the speaker of the House. Neither Senator Johnston nor Senator Jenne were members of the Education Committee. However, they were appointed to the conference committee by Senator Lewis to protect the interests of Florida Atlantic University and South Florida.

Reported to the writer was the view that the Senate refused to confer on higher education unless the House agreed that the continuation of the Board of Regents was not negotiable. One influential individual perceived that Representative Burns was "sold out" on the issue of abolishing the regents by Representatives Brown and Bell.

### Extended and Special Sessions

Although the Legislature was scheduled to adjourn on June 6, the session was extended through June 7; a special

session was then called to begin on June 9. The period during which the conference committee was operating and the period of the extended and special sessions were described consistently as pure confusion, hectic, a bad scene. Many thought that the higher education issue was only resolved because the Legislature was tired and embarrassed by the extension.

On Saturday, June 7, the governor became personally involved in the compromises. The House in particular held strong resentment toward the governor for appearing to support the bill and then later vetoing it. The governor's activity during this period was described as pushing and shoving, making and breaking commitments. The House made certain concessions to the governor in hopes that he would support the bill. For example, Senator Hair and Representative Pacjic agreed to a compromise on the merger language. A word "shall" was changed to "should" so that the merger language was permissive rather than obligatory. The House also agreed to make the boards of trustees for the nine universities advisory. Just prior to these concessions, Representatives Bell and Burnsed threatened an eleventh hour walkout. The House leaders began to feel that the bill in its present form was far different from their original intent and they feared that it would do more harm than good.

Representative Brown insisted that they reopen negotiations in the Conference Committee.

Meanwhile, the Senate was stalling and threatened to go home. Senators Childers and Barron were willing to end the session without a bill.

Amid all this tension an emotional confrontation occurred on Saturday night in the governor's office. According to an article in the St. Petersburg Times (Ellis, June 10, 1980), Senator Barron verbally chastised Senator Lewis and Representative Brown while a physical confrontation was narrowly avoided. The article stated that it was quite a scene, a former president of the Senate berating a current president of the Senate while the future president of the Senate sat cross-legged on the floor spitting tobacco juice into a styrofoam cup. Describing the scene, one House member in attendance said that if it hadn't been for Representative Brown's calmness the House members would have had a physical encounter with Barron. Barron accused House leaders Brown and Bell of holding up the session with their demand for mergers. According to the article, Barron claimed it was childish and irresponsible to hold up the whole world because one or two people wanted to merge some universities. Lewis, who was a close friend of Barron, later insisted that he had not been insulted by Barron's criticism. One influential

individual stated that Barron never really wrested control from Lewis as alleged.

The special session opened on Monday of the following week. Governor Graham announced that he had reached Senator McKay in North Carolina where he was vacationing after his resignation from the Florida Senate due to his campaigning for the U. S. Senate. McKay agreed to return to the special session on the governor's request and refusal of his resignation. It was generally believed that McKay was called back by the governor to negotiate a settlement on the higher education bill. One influential individual reported, however, that the governor's real reason for bringing McKay back was to assist him in the passage of the renters' relief bill.

Passage of the Truth in Millage or TRIM Bill was very important to the Senate. Knowing this, the House refused to pass the TRIM Bill unless the Senate passed the Higher Education Bill. In addition, the House was stalling on passing the Appropriations Bill until the Senate passed the higher Education Bill.

The Board of Regents believed it had a commitment from Senator Lewis not to pass the Higher Education Bill. The game plan, they thought, was that on Monday at 2 p.m., the Senate would pass the Appropriations and the TRIM bills and would go home without acting on the Higher Education Bill. The plan failed because the Senate feared criticism from

the electorate during their upcoming campaigns. The Senate thought it would be blamed for raising taxes. A regents' supporter put forth the opinion that the House beat Senator Lewis down with stalling and psychological pressure.

On the other hand, the Senate leadership claimed that the bill had not come to the floor of the Senate because Senator Gordon and the Broward delegation had the votes locked up against it doing so. The Broward delegation wanted a higher education presence in their county. Senator Gordon was angry because Senator Lewis refused the FAU/FIU merger. One interviewee described the Lewis/Gordon conflict as "two great giants fighting over a nit." A bargain was struck when Senator Gordon agreed to support appropriations for a university campus in Broward County and the Broward County delegation agreed to support a four-year program at Florida International University. When the leadership agreed to the bargain, Senator Gordon backed off and the bill was allowed to come to the floor. It was also reported that the Miami delegation in the Senate was holding out for the renter relief bill.

On Wednesday, June 11, House Bill 7-D was passed by both houses. The bill left the Board of Regents still intact and gave the State Board of Education master planning responsibility with the advisory assistance of the Post-secondary Education Coordinating Commission. The University

of North Florida/University of Florida merger was included while the FAU/FIU merger was excluded. In the Appropriations Bill, \$7,500,000 in faculty salary increases were tied in proviso language to the passage of House Bill 7-D.

#### After the Bill Passes

Between the passage of the bill and July 10, when it was vetoed by the governor, there was a great deal of discussion and controversy among the groups involved and in the press. Dr. George Bedell, interim chancellor, traveled the state to meet with editorial boards. Retiring Chancellor E. T. York's parting message criticizing House Bill 7-D as the most political bill he had seen in 25 years appeared in articles across the state. Most of the regents were active in urging the governor to veto the bill. The same was not true of the universities and their presidents. The University of Florida and its regent, Chairman Jack McGriff, and University of South Florida President John Lott Brown urged the governor to sign the bill because of the salary increases. As a matter of policy the chancellor expected the universities and their presidents to lobby the regent position. In this case, several broke ranks.

The Office of the Governor was most active during the time prior to the veto, although not involved earlier in the process. It is difficult to know the true informal influences



on the governor in making his decision to veto the bill. His formal reasons are included in the text of his veto message summarized on page 103. The governor's staff reported that, except for certain self-serving letter writers like faculty, the letters received by the governor were overwhelmingly in favor of veto. Dr. York and Dr. Bedell were said to have had a great deal of influence on the governor. Dr. Bedell was a close personal friend of the governor. Several influential individuals indicated that Dr. Bedell did not have undue influence with the governor, he did have the governor's ear.

Comments on the Legislature Process and the Bill from the Interviews

The following quotes from influential individuals interviewed are indicative of their evaluation of the legislative process resulting in House Bill 7-D:

1. "The Legislature is a writhing, uncontrolled animal, a democratic body. We did the best we could, far from the mark."
2. "One of the positive aspects of an omnibus bill is that some worthwhile legislation that might otherwise get lost will pass."
3. "An omnibus bill allows the Legislature to address higher education in a comprehensive fashion rather

than in a piecemeal fashion. Major reforms should not be piecemeal."

4. "The House criticized the Board of Regents on the lower division issue and then to get support for the omnibus bill added the lower divisions, University Hospital, and the Broward turkey."
5. "House Bill 7-D was the result of a combination of successes and failures of special interest groups."
6. "I've never seen such an emotional issue in all my life."
7. "Merger is the most parochial issue higher education has ever seen."
8. "During the special session, the two houses were not necessarily voting on the merits of a bill, but rather on what it could be traded for."
9. "During the special session, there was a lot of arm twisting to get the bill through, pressure to get home. Legislators were facing reelection campaigns and felt pressure to get back to fund raisers."
10. "There's not a good governor who doesn't fight with the Legislature. The system is designed for tension, a balance of power."

11. "After his veto of House Bill 7-D and winning the court case on faculty salary increases, the governor is one up in his power struggle with the Legislature. It may be temporary."

Comments on the Process and the Bill from the Newspapers

The newspapers were even more blistering in their criticism of the legislative process as evidenced in the following comments:

1. "The Legislature is using the issues of merger and abolishing the Board of Regents as a diversionary tactic."
2. "The Legislature is using higher education as a political football."
3. "The Legislature is creating a pile of vindictive, destructive bills to use as bargaining chips in the end-of-session scramble."
4. "One legislative observer said he had never seen a session with so many possible tradeoffs, everything is on the auction block. The sad truth is that such ruthless power plays and vain posturing are old hat in Tallahassee. They have become the standard of lawmaking procedure in the Capitol. Although the wheeler-dealers may defend the bluffing and bargaining as essential to the art of compromise,

their vicious games demean the democratic process while endangering nine public universities and the future of Florida's youth. Inevitably, the political meddling will erode, then destroy, academic freedom. It is ironic that the auspicious atmosphere for university advances, developed during the past two years, was so quickly poisoned. This was to have been a landmark session for higher education in Florida--the year when legislative leaders and Governor Bob Graham would start the campaign for quality.

5. "Events in Tallahassee smack more of camel trading in an Arabian bazaar."
6. "This Legislature is a disaster, the worst since reapportionment. The legislators are interested only in reelection. There is little concern about the merits of the issues. There's more concern about dealing with the other house."
7. "It is reminiscent of the child's game of 52-card pickup--throwing all the cards up in the air. . . . A topic of such vital importance deserves some study, reasoned consideration that goes beyond petty politics."

8. "A legislative aide said that merger was the strangest thing that he had ever been a party to. The university presidents all came in town and were standing in the rotunda bartering their universities."
9. "It was political terrorism for the State University System."
10. "Both the House and the Senate frequently placed a higher priority on prevailing over the other body than upon the merits of the legislation under consideration."
11. "The bill was ripped apart and pieced back together many times as it bounced back and forth between the House and the Senate."
12. "Governor Bob Graham criticized the dark side of the 1980 Legislature and supported merging the House and the Senate into a single chamber. Graham said that we've seen again this year, as we have for the past several legislative sessions, that the arguments for two houses--deliberate debate, clarity of public understanding of the process, the ability to hold people accountable for their actions--are all not only misplaced, they are just the opposite of what happens. He

also said that the idea that the legislative leadership is entitled to some monument in concrete and stone is a new phenomenon that needs to be terminated."

13. "Senator Barron said he kept telling them that Governor Graham is not without political courage."

Report and Discussion of Findings Related To  
Feedback Resulting from the Passage of House Bill 7-D

Legislation as output, the actual product of the legislative branch, in turn affects the environment and as feedback may result in an early demand for input on the system. In this case the output was House Bill 7-D. Feedback from its impact on the system included:

1. All the communication Governor Graham received supporting or opposing the bill.
2. A mid-June legal opinion provided to the Chancellor that proviso language in the Appropriations Act tying increases in faculty salaries to the passage of House Bill 7-D was unconstitutional.
3. The veto itself (See page 103).
4. A complaint filed by Governor Graham on July 16, 1980, in a Leon County Circuit Court challenging the constitutionality of the proviso tying the faculty salary funds in the Supplemental Appropriations Act to the passage of House Bill 7-D--Graham v. Firestone.

5. Graham's creation by executive order of the Post-secondary Planning Commission and the appointment of Preston Haskell to chair that commission.
6. The creation by the Board of Regents of task forces to study various issues, including university structure.
7. The recommendation of the Board of Regents for the addition of limited lower division programs at three upper division universities.
8. The governor's recommendation, preceding the Post-secondary Education Planning Commission's recommendation by one day, for the addition of those lower division programs.
9. The Postsecondary Education Planning Commission's recommendation against the addition of those lower division programs.
10. Anger and hostility on the part of certain members of the House toward the governor and an expectation that the House would retaliate against the governor in the 1981 Legislative Session.
11. An expectation that little higher education legislation will be passed by the 1981 Legislature.
12. The reintroduction of certain sections of House Bill 7-D as bills in the 1981 Legislative Session.

13. A wait-and-see attitude to determine how well the new Chancellor, Barbara Newell, will lead the State University System.

Chapter VI is an analysis of the extent to which the findings of this study are consistent with propositions selected from the literature on educational politics.



## CHAPTER VI DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

This discussion includes a description of the extent to which the findings of this study are consistent with propositions selected from a review of the scholarly literature on education politics. The discussion is based on information received in the interviews, the review of public documents, and the conclusions of the researcher.

Propositions by seven authors were chosen from a review of the literature. Those seven are listed as follows:

1. Iannaccone's proposition on state structures linking education groups with the legislature.
2. Rost's proposition on the complete politization of higher education.
3. Bowles' proposition on competition among the education lobbies.
4. Propositions by Martorana and Smutz on the fusing effect of statewide coordination.
5. Thompson's proposition on the legislative process.
6. Burlingame's proposition on legislative tradeoffs of appropriations for postsecondary education institutions and autonomy of those institutions.
7. Blocker's propositions on legislature maneuvers and tactics.

In the subsequent sections each of these propositions are presented and compared to the findings of this study. The extent to which each proposition is consistent with the findings is discussed.

Iannaccone's Proposition on State Structures Linking  
Education Groups with the Legislature

When Iannaccone (1967) studied specific structures linking state educational groups with their legislatures, he identified four such structures. During 1980, Florida more closely resembled Iannaccone's fragmented-competitive structure. In the fragmented-competitive structure, the locus of accommodation of educational legislation is not within the profession, but rather within the larger state political arena. Such was the case in Florida in 1980. Iannaccone hypothesized that in this structure education's potential to prevent or pass legislation was more limited than it would be within a monolithic structure. Again his supposition seems to be consistent with the situation in Florida in 1980. However it is important to note the reported influence of the Board of Regents on the governor in vetoing the legislation. Iannaccone also studied legislators' sentiments about education. The findings of this study were similar to the findings of Scott (1977). The unfavorable trend in Florida legislators' perception of higher education had continued.

Rost's Proposition on the Complete  
Politization of Higher Education

Rost (1979) proposed that Iannaccone's concept of the developmental processes of the state educational system was inaccurate. He suggested that, rather than syndical, the fourth stage is the complete politicization of education, rendering it simply one of many essential state services competing for resources.

It was the consensus of those interviewed that higher education in Florida had never been viewed as a fourth branch of government. However, the interviewees agreed that higher education has indeed become more politicized in the several years prior to 1980. The House leadership was reported to be, and agreed that it was, responsible for this politicization. Some who were interviewed indicated that the great attention received by higher education in the Legislature was very necessary, justified, and invited by the regents' inaction. E. T. York was quoted in the papers as saying that House Bill 7-D was the most politicized bill he had seen in higher education for 25 years. There was little disagreement that higher education was viewed as just another agency of state government in Florida.

Rost (1979) found there were four characteristics of the stage of complete politicization of higher education. Two of the four characteristics seem to exist in Florida. Rost

claimed that one characteristic is that the governor and key political leaders in and out of the legislature dominate as the main policymakers in education. This was indeed the case in the 1980 Legislature. The second characteristic is a demonopolizing trend whereby educational services are given by a variety of public and private agencies which compete in a market of consumers. Tuition vouchers provided by the 1979 Legislature indicate that this characteristic exists in Florida. The two other characteristics identified by Rost, distinct educational positions and platforms in campaigns and the active participation of educational special interest groups in elections, did not seem to be important factors in Florida in 1980.

#### Bowles' Proposition on Competition Among the Education Lobbies

Bowles (1968) stated that as the competition among the educational lobbies increases, the locus of accommodation of educational legislation moves from within the profession to the larger state political arena.

The findings of this study indicate that there is more competition than cooperation among educational special interest groups in Florida. The evidence supports the finding of Burlingame et al. (1979) of a continued fragmentation of the educational coalition.

Those interviewed said that the educational groups in Florida were splintered during the 1980 Session. Several interviewees did point out that there was something in the bill for everyone. However, it appeared that the educational groups agreed to be neutral on House Bill 7-D as a reactive stance, rather than the groups' choosing to support one another in a proactive stance. In other words, the groups passively agreed not to work against each other. Nevertheless, the great majority of those interviewed agreed that the educational groups were splintered along parochial interests.

Proposition by Martorana and Smutz on the Fusing  
Effect of Statewide Coordination

Another proposition from the literature by Martorana and Smutz (1980) holds that there has been a leveling or fusing effect of statewide coordination of higher education. All sectors, universities and community colleges, are therefore perceived as a whole system and not as a hierarchy of systems.

There was consensus among those interviewed in the study that this leveling or fusing effect was not active in Florida. The different sectors were perceived differently and were thought to be treated differently. Only one interviewee, a member of the governor's staff, disagreed, saying

that the State Board of Education in its coordinating role created a leveling effect. The 1979 decentralizing measures of House Bill 1689 were mentioned on several occasions.

Quality of education in the universities was the issue receiving the most attention from the 1980 Legislature. The community college, vocational education, and independent sectors of higher education did not receive equal attention in terms of allocation of resources and legislation.

#### Thompson's Proposition on the Legislative Process

There are a number of propositions in the literature concerning legislative dynamics and conversion processes. For example, Thompson (1976) identified four adaptive processes active in conversion--identification, bargaining, legal-bureaucratic, and coercion. All four processes were active during the 1980 Florida Legislature.

Using the process of identification, the chancellor was able to get the Legislature to identify more with higher education. The strategy went awry, however, because the House leadership in its subsequent investigation of the problems of higher education identified the Board of Regents and the university governing structure as the root of those problems.

Bargaining was used on numerous occasions to pass House Bill 7-D. For example, the House bargained with the Senate

for the passage of House Bill 7-D by holding other bills hostage. In addition, the House leadership bargained for the support of different educational groups by tying legislation important to those groups into House Bill 7-D.

The legal/bureaucratic process was also frequently used. That process relies on authority to justify actions and depends on the degree of legitimacy and acceptance of that authority. The House leadership used this process when the inclusion of the FAU/FIU as a bargaining chip was forced on the floor against great opposition.

Finally, coercion was used on numerous occasions. For example, Senator Lewis refused to consider the possibility of abolishing the Board of Regents even though other powerful senators may have supported the move.

Burlingame's Proposition on Legislative Trade-offs of Appropriations for and Autonomy of Postsecondary Education

Burlingame et al. (1979) noted bargaining and trade-offs between the State and postsecondary education of appropriations and autonomy. The Board of Regents and many editorials in newspapers across the State accused the House leadership of attempting just such a trade-off. In attempting to abolish the Board of Regents, the House was accused of clouding the real issue of inadequate resources with the issue of structure.

In the final analysis, university faculty received their raises without the concomitant trade-off of loss of autonomy. In fact, institutions maintained the additional autonomy delegated from the Board of Regents by House Bill 1689. The regents, however, claimed that the universities' authority to submit budgets directly to the Legislature would increase the politization of the appropriations process and therefore reduce the autonomy of the State University System.

#### Blocker's Propositions on Legislative Maneuvers and Tactics

The list by Blocker et al. (1976) of 10 legislative maneuvers appears on page 38. All but two, historical precedent and passing the buck, were seen as important in the process resulting in House Bill 7-D. For example, the governor was perceived as using tacit agreement.

The Saturday night disagreement among Senators Barron and Lewis and Representative Brown and others was seen as an example of confrontation and emotionalism. Emotionalism was an often mentioned factor in the interviews and seemed important in the process. Other examples of emotionalism were Senator Carlucci's reaction to the UNF/UF merger, the Dade County reaction to the FAU/FIU merger, the resentment and even hostility expressed by the House leadership toward the governor and the regents, and various namecalling incidents.



The Senate was perceived as using passive resistance in holding up the higher education bill at the end of the session. Compromise was used by the Jacksonville delegation in the House and Office of the Governor to come to an agreement on merger language. Stalling was an obvious technique used by the Senate during the last week of the session.

In addition to the maneuvers discussed in the last paragraph, Blocker et al. (1976) also listed six tactical techniques. The first, divide and conquer, was used by the House leadership to divide the opposition and bring it into line. Membership and chairperson stacking was used in the House Higher Education Committee and in the conference committee. Publicity as a tactic was used systematically by the Board of Regents. The tactic of ad hococracy was demonstrated by the Urban Coalition. Pressure as a tactic was used by many groups.

Blocker et al. (1976) also identified some specific legislative tactics, all of which were used in House Bill 7-D. The compromise on merger language was an example of the use of amendments to overcome both legislative and veto opposition. Joint commission and committee hearings, both during the session and between sessions, were important tactics of the legislative process. The use of a rider tying the passage of House Bill 7-D to the appropriation of faculty salary increases was an extremely important tactic.

The preceding discussion compared the findings of this study with propositions selected from a review of the literature on educational politics in the legislative process. In most cases the findings were consistent with the propositions selected from the literature. The most outstanding exception indicated the lack of a leveling or fusing effect from statewide coordination. All sectors, including universities and community colleges, were not perceived as a whole system, but rather as a collection of unrelated systems requiring more statewide coordination.

Chapter VII contains a summary of the study and its findings. In addition conclusions and recommendations for further study are presented.

## CHAPTER VII

### SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

Chapter VII includes a summary and conclusions of the study as well as recommendations for further study. The chapter begins with a summary of the purpose and design of the study.

#### The Purpose and Design of the Study

The purpose of this study is to describe the legislative system as it operated in Florida during the 1980 passage of House Bill 7-D. The investigation focused on the issues related to the bill, the individuals most influential in support of and in opposition to the bill, the environmental conditions influential in the passage of the bill, the internal legislative processes operating to produce the bill, the feedback resulting from the bill, and, finally, the degree to which the findings of this study were consistent with propositions selected from the literature.

A descriptive case study design was used. The design was based on a combination of Hunter's Reputational Technique (1953) and Dahl's Decision Analysis Technique (1961). The sources of information included selections from the scholarly literature, written records and public documents, and interviews with knowledgeable persons and influential individuals.

The first series of interviews was conducted with 12 knowledgeable persons chosen because of their positions. In those first interviews the knowledgeable persons were asked to identify the individuals most influential in the passage of House Bill 7-D. The knowledgeable persons identified 31 influentials. Twenty-two of those influential individuals were interviewed in the second series.

### Summary of Findings

#### The Formal Structure of Florida Government and the Legislature

The formal structure of Florida government has three branches: the legislative, the judicial, and the executive. The Legislative Branch makes laws and determines public policy. Florida's Legislature is bicameral, meaning that it is composed of two houses, the Senate and the House of Representatives. Legislators are elected in November of even-numbered years. In 1972 the legislature was apportioned into 40 Senate districts and 120 House districts.

The speaker of the House and the president of the Senate are the leaders of the Legislature and preside over the sessions. The Florida Legislature works through the committee system which provides the process to study, research, and plan solutions to the problems requiring legislation. The chairperson and the members of all committees are appointed by the speaker and the president.

There are four committees in the Legislature which regularly handle postsecondary education matters. In the House of Representatives there are the Higher Education Committee and the Appropriations Committee. The Higher Education Committee was first established in 1979 by House Speaker Hyatt Brown. Prior to that time the Education Committee handled both K-12 and postsecondary education issues. The House Appropriations Committee works through established subcommittees. Subcommittee III handles education and transportation matters.

In the Senate there are two committees which regularly handle postsecondary education matters. The Education Committee usually works as a full committee except in rare instances and handles K-12 and postsecondary education issues. Until 1981 appropriations matters were handled by the Senate Ways and Means Committee which worked through established subcommittees. In 1981 that committee was split into two committees, the Appropriations Committee and the Finance and Tax Committee.

#### Summary of House Bill 7-D

The bill under study clearly established the State Board of Education as the coordinating and planning agency for postsecondary education. It created the Florida Postsecondary Education Coordinating Commission to be appointed

by the governor to advise the State Board of Education on postsecondary education matters. It also established the University of North Florida as a component of the University of Florida with merger to be implemented on February 1, 1981. In addition, it created individual boards of trustees for all universities with the boards acting in an advisory capacity. It authorized the State Board of Education to establish a branch university in Broward County and it authorized the Board of Regents to study the feasibility of a teaching hospital at the University of South Florida. The Board of Regents was expanded to 12 members (with terms of six years) plus the commissioner of education (with a term of six years). It required the Board of Education to encourage regional advisory postsecondary educational consortia composed of universities, community colleges and private institutions. The bill authorized the State Board of Education to delegate powers to the director of the Division of Community Colleges or the Community College Coordinating Board with the coordinating board authorized to promulgate rules. The Community Hospital Education Program was placed within the State Department of Education to establish continuing medical education programs for interns and residents and community clinical teaching and training. Finally, House Bill 7-D authorized the Florida Student Financial Aid Commission to

be renamed as an authority to issue revenue bonds for the purpose of student loans.

### The Informal Workings of the Florida Legislative System

This section of the study focused on the informal workings of the Legislature. It includes issues, influential individuals and groups, environmental conditions and the process.

### The major issues of House Bill 7-D

From the interviews and an examination of written records, it was determined that the three most important issues in House Bill 7-D were the university mergers, the status of the Board of Regents, and faculty salaries. In interviews with the influential individuals, 10 issues were frequently mentioned. Those issues are listed below, beginning with the most frequently mentioned issue and ending with the least frequently mentioned issue:

1. University mergers.
2. The perceived ineffectiveness of the Board of Regents and its possible elimination.
3. Improved coordination among the universities, community colleges, and vocational education.

4. Determination of the criteria for the distribution of resources to universities according to their states as established or new universities, research, comprehensive, or upper level universities, rural or urban universities.

5. Improvement of the quality of higher education.

6. Increased faculty salaries.

7. The addition of lower division programs in upper division universities.

8. Individual boards of trustees for each university.

9. Medical education, including the merger of University Hospital in Jacksonville with Shands Teaching Hospital at the University of Florida and the appropriation of funds for the expansion of Shands Teaching Hospital in Gainesville.

10. Fear that with reapportionment legislative support would flow away from the University of Florida and other North Florida universities to South Florida institutions.

#### Individuals influential in the legislative process

In the interviews, 20 individuals were identified by at least four interviewees as the most influential in the legislative process resulting in House Bill 7-D. The following list begins with the individual most frequently mentioned and ends with those individuals least frequently mentioned. The number following each name reflects the number of times that individual was mentioned.



1. Representative Sam Bell, majority whip, House of Representatives [22].
2. Representative Beverly Burnsed, chairperson, House Higher Education Committee [20].
3. Senator Jack Gordon [20].
4. Representative Hyatt Brown, speaker of the House of Representatives [19].
5. Governor Bob Graham [18].
6. Senator Phil Lewis, president of the Senate [18].
7. Senator Buddy McKay, chairperson, Senate Education Committee [18].
8. Senator Peterson [13].
9. Representative Herb Morgan, chairperson, House Appropriations Committee [12].
10. Dr. E. T. York, chancellor, State University System [10].
11. Ralph Turlington, commissioner of education [9].
12. Dr. George Bedell, interim chancellor, State University System [8].
13. Dr. Charles Reed, Educational Policy Unit coordinator, Office of the Governor [8].
14. Dr. William Law, staff director, House Higher Education Committee [6].

15. Dr. William Shade, educational policy analyst, Office of the Governor [6].
16. Senator Dempsey Barron [5].
17. Senator Mattox Hair [5].
18. Senator Clark Maxwell [5].
19. Representative Steve Pajcic [5].
20. Majorie Turnbull, staff to the speaker of the House [4].

Twelve of the twenty most influential individuals listed were legislators. The top six persons on the list were, indeed, legislators. There was little disagreement that the legislative decisionmaking under study was controlled almost exclusively by legislators. Others outside the legislature had input and even impact on the legislation; however, the main impetus for the legislation, it was agreed, came from within the Legislature rather than from outside it.

The governor and two of his staff were listed in the top 20. It can be assumed that his veto of the bill strengthened perceptions of his influence on the legislative process. Had he not vetoed the bill, the status of his perceived influence may have decreased. Four legislative or executive staff members were among the 20 most influential persons.

### Groups influential in the legislative process

Informal groups supporting and opposing certain sections of the bill seemed to form. One group consisting of students, the United Faculty of Florida, the House leadership, Senator Gordon and Senator Peterson, was in favor of abolishing the Board of Regents. Supporting the survival of the Board of Regents were the regents themselves, the regents' staff, the governor and his office, Senator Lewis and Senator McKay. Merger was another issue which activated the support of informal coalitions.

### Environmental conditions impacting the legislature

The influential individuals interviewed most often mentioned an economic condition related to why more businesses were not choosing to locate in Florida. It was well known that many of these companies listed as among their reasons for not locating in Florida the lack of quality higher education and the lack of good engineering schools. It was believed that a coordinated statewide effort to meet the educational, research and development needs of new industry was required.

Demographic changes were perceived as another important environmental factor. Research universities are not located in the population centers, but in rural areas. There are no public four-year comprehensive or research universities

located in South Florida to serve the expanding population. Many students in the population centers are placebound because they are employees of business and industry or women in transition. Many of their educational needs are not being served.

It was expected that during the 1982 reapportionment of the legislature South Florida would receive more legislative seats because of its growing population. This would result in a shift of power in the legislative leadership from the Panhandle and North Florida to South Florida. It was also perceived that such a shift might encourage allocation of more resources to the developing institutions in the population centers rather than to the established research universities in the North Florida area. Some influentials saw 1980 as the last chance to protect and enhance the University of Florida.

#### The informal legislative process

Background. After a period of rapid growth in post-secondary education during the '60s and '70s, the attention of legislators shifted from the challenge of providing access to the question of quality. In 1977 Chancellor E. T. York appointed the Commission on the Future of Florida's Public Universities, which found that university faculty salaries were below the national average and that the state

had no programs ranked among the best in several national rankings.

As a result of his belief that postsecondary education was tied to the success of continued economic development in the state, House Speaker Hyatt Brown tagged higher education as one of his five priorities during the 1979-80 biennium. To focus more attention on higher education, Brown created a new committee in the House, the House Higher Education Committee. When Brown's original appointee lost his election, Representative Beverly Burnsed was appointed to fill the chair of the House Higher Education Committee. Committee members were instructed to go along with a list of issues developed by the leadership, including concerns about the parochialism and ineffectiveness of the Board of Regents and the ineffectiveness of the State Board of Education.

Some of the objectives of the House leadership were achieved during the 1979 session. House Bill 1689 decentralized much of the authority from the Board of Regents to the presidents of the nine universities. Agreement on all points could not be reached by the conference committee, so House Bill 1689 created the Joint Legislative and Executive Commission on Postsecondary Education, described by some influential individuals as an ongoing conference committee. Although the commission decided against recommending the

abolishment of the Board of Regents, it did recommend the creation of a new Postsecondary Education Coordinating Council and a constitutional amendment to eliminate the authority of the governor and Cabinet to act as the State Board of Education. A minority statement by Senators Gordon, Maxwell, Peterson and Hair did not concur with these last two recommendations.

As part of his legislative program on education announced in early April 1980 Governor Graham recommended that the State Board of Education be given a two-year trial period to provide the executive leadership necessary to support improvement of educational quality. To assist the State Board of Education, the governor proposed restructuring the Florida Postsecondary Education "1202" Commission by executive order. The commission would develop and submit a master plan for postsecondary education to the State Board of Education.

Action Early in the 1980 Session. Optimism marked the mood of the opening the 1980 session. Representative Burnsed said "it may be that never again will the State of Florida have the leaders of two houses and the governor so dedicated to the concept of quality in higher education." At that time she predicted that consensus would not come until the end of the session; in fact, consensus never came.

The House leadership strategy involved writing an omnibus bill which tied numerous small bills, appropriations for faculty salary increases, and numerous local interest issues such as University Hospital and the Broward County higher education presence to the larger bill so that everyone's interest rose and fell together. Justification for the strategy was found in the theme that major reform should not be piecemeal. It was expected that the omnibus bill would have little opposition in the House because of its support by leadership. It also was expected that the omnibus bill would be held hostage or traded in conference committee. One strategy considered by the House was to include in the bill items to trade, such as the Florida Atlantic University merger with Florida International University. It was known that Senate President Phil Lewis opposed such a merger.

Early in the session three bills reorganizing higher education were filed in the Senate. At one point Senator Peterson's bill abolishing the Board of Regents seemed to have enough votes in the Senate Education Committee. As chairperson of that committee, Senator McKay, whose bill reflected the governor's position in favor of maintaining the regents, extended debate on the issues and prevented a vote from being taken. It was reported that the governor called Senator Peterson and prevailed upon him to compromise his

stand on abolishing the regents. Peterson agreed to go along with McKay's bill, knowing he would urge the Governor to veto the legislation. Later the Education Committee passed a committee substitute which closely resembled Senator McKay's original bill with some of the elements of Senator Peterson's bill included. It was also reported that the Senate in adopting the committee substitute was seeking to design a bill which would be significantly different from the House bill.

The Regents were successful in developing support for their continuation from Senators Lewis and McKay and from newspapers around the state. A rash of editorials appeared criticizing the House for employing diversionary tactics. The editorials claimed that the issues of merger and threats of abolishing the board were diversions from the real issue, increased appropriations for faculty salaries.

The issue of faculty salaries. It has been noted that legislators have been known to trade increased appropriations to higher education for a loss of autonomy. During the 1980 session the strategy of the House leadership was to tie increased appropriations for faculty salaries to the passage of the omnibus bill. The House was proposing to appropriate \$10,000,000 for competitive marketplace adjustments by rank and discipline category to assure that each salary was at



the 85th percentile of the Oklahoma State University Salary Survey. The Senate took a position in favor of a \$7,000,000 increase in faculty salaries.

The issue of university mergers. Merger fever started early in the session. The idea of merging universities was purported to have originated with Representative Sam Bell during the Joint Commission hearings. It also was reported that the major thrust of the proposed mergers was to protect and assist the University of Florida. Mergers discussed included the University of Florida with Florida International University, Florida Atlantic University, the University of North Florida, and the University of Central Florida; Florida State University with the University of West Florida; and Florida Atlantic University with Florida International University.

The most feasible merger seemed to be the one between the University of Florida and the University of North Florida. Support of the Jacksonville delegation was obtained by the promise of a merger of the University Hospital in Jacksonville with Shands Teaching Hospital at the University of Florida. This trade pleased the Jacksonville delegation because the state thus would defray some of the expenses of University Hospital.

In the House, the omnibus bill, House Bill 1769, sailed smoothly through committees and on May 22 passed on the floor of the House with 72 Yeas and 36 Nays. Meanwhile, as expected, the Senate held the higher education omnibus bill hostage and refused to let it come to the floor. Finally, on June 3, just three days before scheduled adjournment, House Bill 1769 was placed on the Senate Special Order Calendar and passed as amended with 32 Yeas and 4 Nays.

The last days and conference committee. The next day the House refused to concur with the Senate version of House Bill 1769 and a conference committee was appointed with Representatives Burnsed, Bell, Morgan, Lippman, Dennis Jones and alternates Representatives Sadowsky and Pajcic, and with Senators McKay, Gordon, Johnston, Jenne, Maxwell, and alternates Senators Hair and Frank. The practice of referring an issue to a conference committee has the effect of giving decisionmaking power to a very small group of people and withdrawing it from the full body of the Legislature. A conference committee report must be voted on as it stands by the full houses. Members of the conference committee are appointed by the president of the Senate and the speaker of the House. It was reported that the membership of the conference committee was stacked. For example, neither Senator Johnston nor Senator Jenne were members of the

Senate Education Committee, but they were appointed by Senator Lewis to protect the interests of Florida Atlantic University and South Florida in general.

Extended and special sessions. There were a number of unresolved issues, so the 1980 legislative session was extended one day through June 7 and then a special session was called on June 9. That period was consistently described as confusing and hectic. It was believed that the higher education issue was only resolved because the Legislature was tired and embarrassed by the extension. During the special session the Legislature started with a clean slate and House Bill 7-D was introduced as a substitute for House Bill 1769, referred and passed through committee, placed on the calendar, and passed by the House with 87 Yeas and 16 Nays. The bill finally came to the floor of the Senate on June 10, when Senator Gordon and Senator Lewis struck a bargain to support appropriations for a university campus in Broward in exchange for the Broward delegation's support of a four-year program at Florida International University.

On Wednesday, June 11, the bill was passed by both houses with the Board of Regents still intact, the State Board of Education given master planning responsibility and the advisory assistance of the Postsecondary Education Coordinating Commission, the UNF/UF merger included, and the

FAU/FIU merger excluded. Both the Truth-in-Millage (TRIM) Bill and the Appropriations Bill were passed by the House when the Senate agreed to pass the higher education omnibus bill. The Appropriations Bill included \$7.5 million in faculty salary increases and tied that appropriation to the passage of House Bill 7-D.

Controversy preliminary to veto. Between the passage of the bill and July 10, when it was vetoed by the governor, there was a great deal of discussion and controversy among the groups involved and in the press. The regents opposed to the bill were successful in obtaining the support of the press and most of the articles appearing around the state urged the governor to veto the bill. Most of the regents were active in urging the governor to veto. However, the University of Florida and its regent, Chairperson Jack McGriff, and University of South Florida President John Lott Brown urged the governor to sign the bill because of faculty salary increases.

Feedback resulting from the passage of House Bill 7-D

In his veto message on July 10, the governor sympathized with the Legislature's lack of confidence and shattering indictment of the Board of Regents. However, he announced his intention in vetoing the bill to strengthen the ability of the Board of Regents to function. The governor charged

the new chancellor with the tasks of developing strong policy and recommendations on the merger issue; on the issue of undergraduate education, including the addition of lower divisions; on the issues of medical education and engineering education, and, finally, on the issue of improved coordination with other sectors.

Governor Graham claimed that the overall impact of House Bill 7-D was to diffuse support for higher education and to abrogate the independence of the Board of Regents. Other decisions in the bill, he said, would implement contradictory policies that reflected disparate political considerations, especially with regard to medical education. Still other decisions he claimed would blur the responsibility for assessing the state's educational needs leading to further diffusion rather than to sharper focusing of limited resources.

In the veto message, Governor Graham announced his intention to reconstitute by executive order the Florida Postsecondary Education Commission to act as an advisory board to the cabinet. The commission would help the cabinet to show in a trial period of two years that it could function effectively as a State Board of Education. The major task of the Postsecondary Education Commission would be to recommend a master plan for postsecondary education.

A final initiative related to House Bill 7-D was announced by the governor in his veto message. On advice by legal counsel that the proviso language in the Appropriations Bill tying the release of supplemental funds for state university system faculty raises to the enactment of House Bill 7-D was unconstitutional, the governor promised to take legal action to release these funds.

In fact he did file a complaint on July 16, 1980, in the Leon County Circuit Court challenging the constitutionality of the proviso. On October 2, 1980, in Graham v. Firestone, the judge delivered an opinion that the proviso was indeed unconstitutional. The appropriation for faculty salary increases was released.

The extent to which the findings of the study are consistent with propositions from the literature

When Florida during 1980 was compared to each of Iannaccone's (1957) four structures linking state educational groups with the Legislature, it more closely resembled the fragmented-competitive structure. In that structure the locus of accommodation of educational legislation is not within the profession but rather within the larger state political arena. Also, within that structure, education's potential to prevent or pass legislation is more limited than it would be within a monolithic structure. Both these criteria were met by the situation in Florida in 1980.

On the other hand, the interviewees agreed that higher education had become completely politicized, rendering it simply one of many essential state services competing for resources. Influential individuals believed that higher education was never perceived as a fourth branch of government; nevertheless, they agreed that it had become more politicized in the past several years due to the activity of the House leadership.

The evidence of the study supports Burlingame's 1979 finding of a continued fragmentation of the educational coalition. Those interviewed agreed that the educational groups in Florida were splintered during the 1980 session; however, it appeared that the educational groups agreed to be neutral on House Bill 7-D as a reactive stance, rather than the groups choosing to support one another in a proactive stance. Nevertheless, the great majority of those interviewed agreed that the educational groups were splintered along the lines of parochial interests. Martorana and Smutz (1980) proposed that there has been a leveling or fusing effect of statewide coordination of higher education in which all sectors, universities and community colleges, are perceived as a whole system and not as a hierarchy of systems. There was consensus among those interviewed in the study that this leveling or fusing effect was not the case in Florida during 1980.

Blocker (1976) listed ten legislative maneuvers, eight of which were clearly evident in the legislative process in Florida in 1980. Those maneuvers used included tacit agreement, emotionalism, confrontation, passive resistance, compromise, and stalling. In addition, Blocker (1976) listed several tactical techniques clearly present in the legislative process in 1980, including divide and conquer, membership and chairperson stacking, publicity, ad hococracy, and pressure. Finally, Blocker (1976) identified some specific legislative tactics, all of which were found to be used. The tactics were the use of amendments to overcome both legislative and veto opposition, public hearings, and the use of a rider tying the passage of a bill to an appropriation.

In most cases the findings of the study were consistent with the propositions selected from the literature. The most outstanding exception was the lack of a leveling or fusing effect from statewide coordination.

### Conclusions

The 1980 Florida Legislature seemed to be operating as a political system according to Easton's definition (1965). The definition states that a political system differs from other systems in that it is predominately oriented toward the authoritative allocation of values for society, such as



appropriations, laws, and resources. Obviously the 1980 Florida Legislature authoritatively allocated values for higher education, such as increased appropriations for faculty salaries and a reorganization of the structure of postsecondary education.

Of the five theories of political process presented in the review of the literature systems theory seemed to correspond most closely to the dynamics involved in House Bill 7-D. It was the most comprehensive theory and included important elements from the other four.

The conflict regulation theory was useful in analyzing the conflict over resources among supporters of the established universities and the newer institutions. Yet its use was limited and its important elements could be included within the systems theory.

Interest group theory (Truman, 1951) is not supported by the results of this study. Interest groups or voluntary associations as such were not as influential as might be predicted by the theory. Legislators and informal groups of legislators and others were the major influences.

The results of this study did support the informal power structure theory. A small group of legislators were the most influential individuals in the legislative process resulting in House Bill 7-D. Most legislators had little

influence because of the power structure within the Legislature. Only five educators were among the list of 40 influential individuals identified in the interviews; and only one of those five was included in the top 10 names. The informal power structure theory can be easily included within the more comprehensive systems theory.

To some degree, the arena theory was also consistent with the results of this study. It was the author's interpretation that the case under study relative to other political situations was part of a fairly stable arena. Nevertheless, there were continual shifts and changes occurring so the process was not static. For example, different individuals shifted into influential positions when different issues surfaced. Representative Hair became influential when the UF/UNF merger and the support of the Jacksonville delegation for the omnibus bill became an important issue.

Arena theorists believe that the systems theory is too artificial and presents a decision-making structure which is too systematic or predictable (Wiles et al., 1981). The author takes issue with their objection. The law of equifinality that states that inputs do not determine outputs is one of several systems theory principles which remove any possible artificiality or inflexibility. If this is indeed the case, it would seem that arena theory could be incorporated into systems theory without creating contradictions.

Because systems theory was the most comprehensive and allowed incorporation of other theories supported by the results, it was the most applicable to the case under study. It was chosen as a method of organizing the report of the results as well as the review of literature.

The 1980 Florida Legislature was an open system which could be distinguished from its environment, yet it was open to influences from other systems. The influences or environmental conditions were transmitted as input into the legislative system by direct impact on legislators who perceived those environmental conditions and by demand articulators such as organized interest groups, the government, education agencies and institutional officials.

The high degree of identification by the House leadership with the higher education issues may be related to the high degree of direct impact of the environmental conditions on the legislators themselves. The House leadership perceived directly the importance of higher education to the development of the economy in the State of Florida. Demand articulators were not required to transmit this vital input. Legislators perceived it directly. For example, when the Florida delegation visited businesses which had decided not to locate in Florida, they were told that lack of quality and availability of higher education was one of the factors involved in the

decision. Had legislators received this input from demand articulators and never perceived it directly, their interest in higher education might not have been as intense.

Such a conclusion does not, of course, deny the importance to the 1980 Legislature of demand articulators. For example, the Board of Regents and its Commission on the Future of Florida's Public Universities played an important role in focusing on the question of quality in postsecondary education. Chancellor E.T. York and the Board of Regents transmitted to the Legislature the facts that university faculty salaries were below the national average and that the state had no programs ranked in the best in several national rankings. In Chapter V it was reported that the interviewees found organized interest groups influential in the legislative process. However, the most influential groups reported were composed almost exclusively of legislators themselves. The most important group was the House leadership favoring the abolishment of the Board of Regents. The second most influential group was composed of Senator Lewis, Senator McKay and the governor, who supported the regents and the regents' staff.

In any case, the results of the study seem to indicate that individual legislators and groups of legislators were more influential in the legislative process resulting in

House Bill 7-D than were other demand articulators. Legislators and legislative staff made up the majority of those listed as most influential in the legislative process.

Even though the legislative process resulting in House Bill 7-D was perceived as a poor process by the press, the governor, educators and even by the House leaders themselves, the outcome of that process was not necessarily negative or unproductive. Some of the sections of the vetoed bill were considered to be positive by the Governor and others were reintroduced and/or passed by the 1981 Legislature. Following the Graham v. Firestone opinion, the faculty salary increases were retained regardless of the veto. The reports of the Board of Regent's Task Forces and the Postsecondary Education Planning Commission have provided further feedback as a result of House Bill 7-D. This feedback has resulted in further demands on and input to the Florida legislative system in 1981.

Because of the case study design, the findings were not generalizable to other states. In addition, the findings were not even predictive of influences and processes related to future educational legislation in Florida.

#### Recommendations For Further Study

As stated in Chapter I, educational legislation has been described as a moving train; and those charged with the

responsibility of providing information must be able to keep up with the legislative agenda if they wish to have an impact (Florio, 1979). So that educators can keep up with the legislative agenda in the State of Florida it is recommended that studies of the Legislature and higher education legislation be conducted on an annual basis. Reports of the results of those studies should be circulated among educators statewide. Such reports would keep educators up-to-date on legislative issues, legislative dynamics, and legislative strategies and tactics.

It is further recommended that specific studies of lobbying practices be conducted. Such studies should include not only the lobbying practices of educators, but also comparative information on the lobbying practices of other state agencies and business and commercial interests.

It is also recommended that a study be conducted of methods to more effectively involve and educate legislators and legislative staff in educational issues.

APPENDIX A  
INTERVIEW GUIDE A

As part of my work at the University of Florida, I am making a study of higher educational legislation at the state level. Specifically I am interested in House Bill 7-D, passed during the 1980 Florida Legislative session and then vetoed by the Governor. To study the bill I need information from knowledgeable persons like yourself who are well-informed about the legislative process in Florida. Your frank opinions will be of great help to me. Thank you so much for your willingness to assist me with this project.

1. In your opinion what were the major issues involved in House Bill 7-D?

2. In retrospect who were the individuals most influential in support and opposition to the bill?

APPENDIX B  
INTERVIEW GUIDE B

As part of my work at the University of Florida, I am making a study of higher educational legislation at the state level. Specifically I am interested in House Bill 7-D, passed during the 1980 Florida Legislative session and then vetoed by the governor. To study the bill I need information from knowledgeable persons like yourself who are well-informed about the legislative process in Florida. Your frank opinions will be of great help to me. Thank you so much for your willingness to assist me with this project.

1. In your opinion, what were the major issues involved in House Bill 7-D? What was the relative importance of these issues in the passage of the legislation? What was your stand on each of those issues?

2. In retrospect, who were the individuals most influential in support of and opposition to the bill?

3. Which organizations, institutions, or educational and state agencies were most influential in the passage and veto of House Bill 7-D?

4. Certain statewide, regional, and/or local circumstances such as economic, social or cultural factors may have had an impact on the Legislature in its consideration of higher education legislation. In your opinion what were



the most important external circumstances influencing House Bill 7-D?

5. What were the processes internal to the Legislature operating in the passage of House Bill 7-D? What was your role in these processes?

6. Were the individual and interest groups external to the Legislature or the members and internal dynamics of the Legislature itself more important in the passage of the bill?

7. What impact did the governor's veto of the bill have on the Legislature? What were the repercussions external to the Legislature?

8. What further developments in the Legislature do you foresee in the future as a result of the veto of House Bill 7-D? What developments external to the Legislature do you foresee as a result of the veto of 7-D?

APPENDIX C  
NAMES OF THOSE INTERVIEWED  
IN THE FIRST SET

1. Deputy Commissioner of Education Roger Nichols.
2. Senate President Phil Lewis.
3. House Speaker Hyatt Brown.
4. Senate Education Committee Staff Analyst Barbara Cohen.
5. House Higher Education Committee Chairperson Beverly Burns.
6. House Higher Education Committee Staff Director William Law.
7. Senate Ways and Means Committee Staff Analyst William Corley.
8. House Appropriations Committee Staff Analyst Pat Barrett.
9. State University System Chancellor E. T. York.
10. Community College Division Director Lee Henderson
11. Jacksonville Journal Reporter Michael Goldman.
12. Governor's Education Policy Unit Coordinator Charles Reed.

## REFERENCES

- Allison, Graham. Essence of decision. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1971.
- Almond, G., & Coleman, J., eds. The politics of developing areas. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1960.
- Bailey, S. K., Frost, R. T., March, P.E., & Wood, R. C. Schoolmen and politics. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1962.
- Banfield, E. Political influence. N.Y.: Free Press, 1961.
- Blocker, C.E., Bender, L.W., & Martorana, S.V. The political terrain of American postsecondary education. Ft. Lauderdale: Nova University, 1976.
- Bowles, V. The power structure in state educational politics. Phi Delta Kappa, 1968, 49, 337.
- Brown v Firestone, 382 So.2d 654.
- Buchanan, M. Mission and merger: legislative mandate and institutional response--a case history of the university of Wisconsin system. (Doctoral dissertation, University of Chicago, 1977). Dissertation Abstracts International, 1977, 38, 2439-A.
- Burlingame, M., & Geske, T. State politics and education: an examination of selected multiple-state case studies. Educational Administration Quarterly, 1979, 15(2), 50-75.
- Campbell, R.F., & Mazzoni, T.L. (Eds.) State policy making for the public schools: a comparative analysis. Berkeley: McCutchan Publishing Co., 1976.
- Chambers, M.M. Higher education in the fifty states. Danville, Ill.: The Interstate Printers & Publishers Inc., 1970.
- Dahl, R.A. Modern political analysis. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1963.

- Dahl, R. A. Who governs? New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961.
- DePalma, F. The governance of education in Florida. Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State University, 1973.
- Dye, T.R. Politics in states and communities. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1977.
- Easton, D. A framework for political analysis. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1965.
- Florio, D.H. Education and the politics of austerity. Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis, 1979, 1(2), 75-82.
- Fox, D.J. The research process in education. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1969.
- Froman, L.A. People and politics: An analysis of the American political system. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1963.
- Frye, B., Top lawmakers say session on schedule. Tallahassee Democrat, May 24, 1980.
- Gove, S. K., & Floyd, C. Illinois. AAUP Bulletin, 1973, 59(3), 289.
- Gove, S.K., & Floyd, C.E. Research on higher education administration and policy: An uneven report. Goodall, L.E. (ed.). Dearborn: LMG Associates, 1976, State Politics and Higher Education.
- Gove, S.K., & Solomon, B.W. The politics of higher education: A bibliographic essay. Journal of Higher Education, 1968, 39, 181-95.
- Hunter, F. Community power structure. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1953.
- Iannacone, L. Politics and education. New York: Center of Applied Research, 1967.
- Jewell, M., & Patterson, S. The legislative process in the United States (3rd ed.). New York: Random House, 1977.

- Kimbrough, R. Political power and educational decision-making. Chicago: Rand McNally and Co., 1964.
- Lutz, F. Power Structure theory. Educational Theory, 1965, XV(1), 19-25.
- Lutz, F. Methods and conceptualizations of political power in education. The politics of education: the seventy-sixth yearbook of the national society for the study of education. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1977.
- Martorana, S., & Smutz, W. State legislation, politics, and community colleges. Community College Review, 1980, 7(3), 5-14.
- Masters, N. Salisbury, R., & Eliot, T. State politics and the public schools. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1964.
- McConnell, T.R. A general pattern for American public higher education. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1962.
- Meranto, P. The politics of federal aid to education in 1965: A study in political innovation. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1967.
- Moos, M. & Rourke, F. The campus and the state. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1959.
- Nunnery, M.Y. & Kimbrough, R. Educational administration: An introduction. New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1976.
- Pellicer, L.O. A comparative case study of two public employee collective bargaining bills in the 1972 Florida legislative session. (Doctoral dissertation, University of Florida, 1973.) Dissertation Abstracts International, 1973, 34, 6914-A. (University Microfilms No. 74-10078.)
- Pierce, G. The influence of political events on policy formation within a statewide system of higher education. (Doctoral dissertation, Claremont Graduate School, 1975). Dissertation Abstracts International, 1976, 37, 3701-A. (University Microfilms No. 76-15, 778)
- Press, C., & VerBurg, K. State and community governments in the federal system. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1979.

Presthus, R. Men at the top: A study in community power.  
New York: Oxford University Press, 1964.

Pye, L. Political culture. International Encyclopedia  
of the Social Sciences. New York: The Macmillan Co.,  
1968, 12, 218.

Reed, C. Influences on educational legislation in  
Pennsylvania (Doctoral dissertation, University of  
Pennsylvania, 1975). Dissertation Abstracts  
International, 1975, 34, 3408-A. (University Micro-  
films No. 75-26, 129.)

Report and recommendations of the Joint Legislative and  
Executive Commission on Postsecondary Education.  
Tallahassee, Fla.: State of Florida, 1980.

Rosenbaum, A. Wisconsin. AAUP Bulletin, 1973, 59(3), 308-310.

Rost, J. The times are achanging. Thrust for educational  
leadership, 1979, 8(5), 4-8.

Schlesinger, J. The politics of the executive. In H. Jacob,  
& K. Vines (Eds.), Politics in the American States:  
A Comparative Analysis (2nd ed.). Boston: Little,  
Brown & Co., 1971.

Scott, R. A study of the sources of legislative perceptions  
and attitudes toward higher education in the state of  
Florida (Doctoral dissertaton, Florida State University,  
1977) Dissertation Abstracts International, 1977, 38,  
3701-A. (University Microfilms No. 77-24, 802)

Scully, M. Superboard to govern Massachusetts colleges.  
The Chronicle of Higher Education. June 30, 1980, 9.

State of Florida. The Florida senate, 1978-1980. Tallahassee,  
Fla.: Author, 1978.

State of Florida. Report and recommendations of the Joint  
Legislative and Executive Commission on Postsecondary  
Education. Tallahassee, Fla. Author, 1980.

State of Florida, Department of Education, a. Clipping Service.  
Tallahassee, Fla.: Author, March 30-July 17, 1980.

State of Florida, Department of Education, b. Regular Session  
Legislative Reports. Tallahassee, Fla.: Author,  
Nos. 1-1A, 1980.

State University System of Florida. 1980 Florida legislative session legislative summary. Tallahassee, Fla.: Author, 1980, V1 (1-11).

Thompson, J.T. Policymaking in American public education: A framework for analysis. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1976.

Usdan, M.D., Miner, D.W., & Hurwitz, E. Education and state politics. New York: Teachers College Press, 1969.

## BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH


Mary Lynn Lyle was born in Jacksonville, Florida, in 1946. She was educated in Jacksonville public schools and graduated from Sweet Briar College in 1967 with an A.B. degree in psychology. In 1968 she received an M.Ed. in counseling from the University of Florida.

The author spent six years as a secondary school counselor in the Duval County school system and in the U. S. Department of Defense school system in Germany. She served as counselor and later as coordinator for the Center for the Continuing Education of Women, Florida Junior College at Jacksonville.


While on educational leave the author returned to the University of Florida in 1979 as a Mott Fellow. She completed an internship with the Governor's Educational Policy Unit during the 1980 legislative session in Tallahassee, Florida. On returning to Florida Junior College she was given a special assignment to act as legislative liaison during the 1981 session. At the time of publication the author had accepted a position at the college as director of Alumni and Governmental Relations.



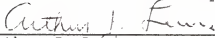
I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

  
\_\_\_\_\_  
Phillip A. Clark, Chairman  
Professor of Educational  
Administration and Supervision

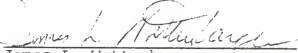
I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

  
\_\_\_\_\_  
Ralph B. Kimbrough  
Professor of Educational  
Administration and Supervision

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

  
\_\_\_\_\_  
Arthur J. Lewis  
Professor of Instructional  
Leadership and Support

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

  
\_\_\_\_\_  
James L. Wattenbarger  
Professor of Educational  
Administration and Supervision

This dissertation was submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the Department of Education Administration and Supervision and the College of Education and to the Graduate Council, and was accepted as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

August, 1981

---

Dean for Graduate Study and  
Research